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Selections.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

SENATE.

The joint special committee, to whom was referred so much of the message of his excellency the governor, as relates to slavery; also, certain petitions of Jasper Stone, and others; also, the resolutions of the State of South Carolina, recommending the annexation of Texas to the United States, have considered the same, and ask leave to make the following

REPORT:

These subjects have been connected together, because they all have one bearing, and that is, upon the institution of domestic slavery, as it now exists in a considerable part of the Union. The questions that grow out of this, are by far the most momentous of all that now agitate the country; and when discussed, call for the exercise of the greatest forbearance, and the most mature deliberation. It is not the wish of your committee, in touching upon them, to add a particle to the irritation already existing, in both sections of the country—that which does, and that which does not tolerate slavery within its borders. But they cannot understand the wisdom of a policy of fear, in this regard, when both the principles and the best interests of Massachusetts demand a contrary one. This State has already assumed a position, relative to that subject, which is believed to be perfectly sound, and yet perfectly respectful to the other States. And now there only remains the comparatively trifling duty of justifying and sustaining it by a consistent train of action.

It has been one of the most prevailing errors of the time, to suppose that the domestic slavery of the southern States, was a matter purely of domestic concernment to those States, and that the citizens of the free States had no interest in it, and no right even to talk about it. The slightest examination of the relations established between the States by the federal Constitution, must show the fallacy of this idea; and the experience of the last twenty years, only tends to dispel every shadow of doubt concerning it. When the great compromise in that instrument was made, it was based upon the hypothesis that the main end of the government of the Union was the perpetuation of the blessings of liberty. The toleration of slavery was considered to be the toleration of an exception to the rule, in its very nature temporary. But it has now become unequivocally certain, that the whole machinery of the general government has long been, continues to be, and bids fair hereafter to prove, the greatest instrument known, for the perpetuation of slavery in the United States, and that the doctrines of liberty are only tolerated when they come into no conflict with that end. In this way, the right of trial by jury—a right expressly secured to every citizen by the sixth article of amendments to the federal Constitution—was deliberately set aside by an early act of Congress, granting a summary process of restitution before a magistrate in the free States, in cases where men were "claimed" as fugitive slaves. In the same way, the right of addressing the Congress of the United States with petitions, has been practically denied to the citizens of the free States, notwithstanding the express reservation made to them of that right, by the first amendment to the same Constitution. In the same way the right of citizenship, guarantied by the second section of the fourth article, as a protection to the citizens of each State against adverse legislation in any of the rest, has been, and is now deliberately violated, as it respects some citizens of the free States, in most, if not all of the slave States. In the same way the laws of the United States, guarding the secrecy of private correspondence in the postoffice—a common property of all the States—have been wantonly set aside. In the same way has the chief of that very postoffice department—an officer of the general government—seen the crime committed, and refused to do his duty in proceeding against the offenders. In the same way has the policy of the country, both foreign and domestic, been made not only once, but continually to bend to the purpose of maintaining slavery. And yet, after all this, there are persons yet to be found, gravely to affirm that the citizens of the free States have nothing to do with it; that it is a local matter, affecting only the people who live within the region where it is tolerated. The same persons, had they then been living, would probably have reproved that country gentleman, John Hampden, because he undertook to interfere with that local matter on the seaboard—King Charles's care of his ships—by refusing his quota to their support, and they would have censured those citizens of Boston, who once ventured to interfere with the East India Company's tea. There are people in every community so fond of the quiet despatch of business, that they look with no favor upon the slightest interruption of it, however well founded the reasons for it may ultimately appear. Such individuals have always wondered what objection could reasonably be found to a rule so expeditious of business as that known to fame as the 21st of the House of Representatives, at Washington. The same would probably have equally wondered, had they witnessed the pertinacity of Martin Luther in resisting the business-loving propensities of the pontiff at Rome.

Massachusetts has not maintained any similar doctrines. Massachusetts has repeatedly declared, that the bearing of slavery upon the principles declared sacred by the Constitution of the United States, is of consequence to her. On this point, there is no great diversity of sentiment among her citizens. The ordinary party distinctions vanish in connection with it. The wish of a very large majority is, that the separation of interest in slavery, which has been maintained to exist, but which does not now exist, should be made to exist, as soon as possible. That wish was expressed with perfect unanimity upon the passage of a resolution through both branches of the legislature, at its last session, which resolution proposed an amendment to the federal Constitution, designed to effect the object. The same wish will lead them in no particular to sanction any course calculated, directly or indirectly, to defeat the same object. In this point of view it is, that your committee look with no favor upon the first prayer of the petitions which have been referred to them for their consideration. That prayer is, that an amendment be proposed to the Constitution of the United States, in the following words:

No State shall tolerate slavery within its limits, or suffer any person, under its jurisdiction, to be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.

Such an amendment would, in the opinion of your committee, imply a disposition, on the part of Massachusetts, to dictate to her sister States, in matters exclusively appertaining to those States. It would be an attempt to interfere with their internal economy, which could not be justified, either by the spirit of the Constitution itself, or by the theory of republican government. It is true that there is no express prohibition of the proposal of such an amendment. The power may exist to recommend any change, however great, in the organic features of the federal government, and yet it may not be proper in many cases so to do. The people of Massachusetts claim for themselves, in the fourth article of the bill of rights, prefixed to their own constitution, the exclusive right of establishing the laws which shall govern them. The powers which they do not expressly delegate, they reserve in their own hands. Least of all would they consent, that by virtue of the dictation of the citizens of other States wholly without their jurisdiction, their domestic institutions should be altered or overturned without their own consent. The same right which they claim for themselves, they willingly acknowledge to belong to their neighbors. Neither will they seek to impose conditions, even through forms opened by the Constitution, which they would not consent to receive, if offered to themselves. The right to abolish slavery in the States in which it is established, belongs exclusively to the people inhabiting those States. If that desirable event ever shall come, it must come through their voluntary act. Their convictions, and not the threat of strangers to their laws, must be their guide. Further than to wish them well, Massachusetts seeks to take no part. Even her regard for the purest abstract principles, will not carry her farther. However she may regret the errors of doctrine, which lead so many of her sister States to exhibit daily and hourly, what appears to her to be a palpable contradiction to the principles proclaimed in the great charter of our common liberties, she must remain content, at this time, with the congratulation of his excellency, that she has done all that lay in her power, within the legitimate sphere of her action, to make those principles something more than a name.

But whilst your committee, for the reasons which have been stated, deem it utterly inexpedient to recommend any action whatever, having for its object the regulation of the domestic institutions of other States, they desire again to affirm the soundness of the principle which led the general court of last, and also that of the present year, to propose a measure calculated to deprive the southern States which contain slaves, of a power over the people of Massachusetts, which they acquire through the concession made in the Constitution, of representation of their property in man. Whilst your committee have no desire to do anything, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the local law of those States, upon which the relation of master and servant is there founded, they are equally unwilling to leave any act undone, which shall separate the people of this State, not only from a share of responsibility incurred by sustaining that relation, but also from suffering in their own persons the evil effects of the recognition of it in the federal Constitution. They feel that the representation granted by that instrument to property, is at war with the doctrines most generally approved in the free States. Most especially do they object to it, when the property consists of their fellow-men. They feel, moreover, that this representation of property, equally abhorrent to their principles and to their feelings, has been found to weigh with peculiar severity upon the industry of the citizens of the free States, giving, as it does, an undue preponderance to a system of policy devised to perpetuate the power complained of. They also feel, that what was called a compromise, when this power was conceded, has not proved so in practice, the consideration for which this great power was given, the right to make the property in man contribute, by taxation, to the support of the common government, not having been realized. As a consequence of these feelings, the State proposes a surrender, on both sides, of the terms of compromise—a simple cancellation of this part of the common bond. And as a further inducement to the acceptance of this proposal, it holds forth, as ensuing from it, the very total separation of the free States from all concern with slavery, which it has always been the desire of the friends of that institution should take place, but which never can take place, so long as it wields so much power in the general government as it does now.

The representatives of a people who wish to mean what they say, when they affirm all men born free and equal, hold their sessions in a district of country in which the inequality among men, from their birth to their grave, is declared by laws which hold their place on the statute-book, through their act. Year after year they have sanctioned, negatively, to say the least, the reproach, that the clank of the chains which bind innocent men to servitude for life, is often within their hearing, and that though they have the power, they will not tear them off. Year after year do they suffer to be the law of the land in which they live, that men shall be presumed to be slaves, and sold to the highest bidder, after imprisonment, if they cannot prove their freedom. With all the treasures of the Union under their control, they knowingly suffer men, acknowledged to be free, to be sold into slavery for life, because they are unable to pay the paltry jail fees of an unjust imprisonment. And what is it, your committee would respectfully ask, that binds them thus hand and foot, without power to sweep the barbarous system from the land? Is it a denial of its existence, or a doubt as to its character, or a disposition to palliate or excuse its horrors? No, indeed. The cause is to be found in the overbearing influence of the representation of the masters of slaves, and the weight they possess through the acknowledgment of their property in man. These masters will never consent to an act of the plainest justice which hazards, or which even appears to hazard, the tenure by which they hold their property at home. They cast twenty-two votes on account of that property, in the House of Representatives. They cast twenty-two votes on account of that property, in the electoral colleges which make the President of the United States. The votes of the masters are important to every political party that seeks to administer the affairs of the country. Can it then be wondered at, if the principles of liberty within the ten miles square are forgotten in the contention to secure those votes? Yet we are gravely told, that notwithstanding this proof of the power which slavery exercises in the affairs of the Union, the citizens of the free States have nothing to do with it.

The truth is, that not a measure is proposed in Congress, nor acted upon by the executive of the Union, and hardly a single man is nominated to office, without some reference to the effect it or he may have upon the predominance of the slave interest in the Union. If a project is believed to be likely to promote the extension of slave representation, it is pressed with zeal, in which members of both the great parties from the free States vie with each other. If, on the contrary, it is believed to be adverse, it is at once damned with a bad name, from which the members from the free States seek very faintly to relieve it. Are the territories of Iowa and Wiskonsan filling up with a free white population, in so rapid a manner as to threaten the admission of two more free States into the Union, not a whisper is heard about it, so long as Florida lingers in the rear. And in order to accelerate her pace, the lands of the Union are lavished with a prodigal hand to all who shall pretend to ask them on the ground of rendering a sort of feudal service to expel an enemy, that no longer exists there.—These evils are great, but they are unavoidable, just as long as the representation of slave property can be sustained. Let that be once cut off, and they will cure themselves.

There is another view of the subject, which will present itself, without any doubt, to the minds of the people in the free States. The concession of a right of representation of property in man, is a direct inducement to the extension and perpetuation of the system of domestic slavery. As if it were not enough to promote the growth of the number of slaves that the pecuniary interests of the white master should be concerned in it, the United States concede to him a new share of political power for every slave that he can add to the number already existing. For the continuance of this, the citizens of the free States must hold themselves daily and hourly responsible. They now hold forth a premium for the spread of the system, instead of endeavoring to restrain it within the limit where it now prevails. But the adoption of an amendment which would confine representation only to the free, would produce an effect directly the reverse of that already described. It would promote the growth of the free population, from the accession of political strength which it would give, and be likely to substitute the enterprise of an active and independent race of responsible beings, conscious of the position which they occupy as voters in the State, for the lethargic insensibility of a degraded people. And thus would *all* the institutions of the United States come by degrees to coincide with the principles declared to lie at the foundation of their political organization.

But the strongest recommendation of the proposed change, is yet to come, in considering the subject referred to your committee of the resolutions of South Carolina, recommending the annexation of Texas to the Union. This scheme is still seriously agitated, and will continue to be agitated just so long as the measure will be deemed likely to increase the weight of the slave representation, and no longer. It is a project which, pressed as it is, in the particular quarter where we see it, can have no other object than the perpetuation over the Union of the power acquired through the representation of property in man. In any other light, the acquisition of a new and rich territory like Texas, would appear to be fatal to the cultivation of much of the exhausted lands of Carolina. It is the prospect which it affords of counteracting the effects of an increase of free States in the regions of the Northwest, which reconciles the people of that State to witnessing its decline. Without the acquisition of Texas, there might be a hope cherished in the bosoms of the citizens of the free States, that in the mere course of time, the slave representation would so far decline, relatively to them, as to cease to be formidable. And your committee will go so far as to admit that but for the danger of this event, it would be safe for Massachusetts, to await the slow but sure developments of time, without seeking to change any feature of the Constitution of the United States. But when it is openly avowed that the gaining of this great territory is to be followed by the admission of nine or ten States into the Union, which shall tolerate and encourage the spread of the domestic institution; when it becomes glaringly manifest, on a review of the foreign policy of this government for many years back, that this purpose has actuated the executive magistrate of the Union, to put all the force of his office into action, to bring about the desired result; when it remains still doubtful how far the peaceful relations with a neighboring State, may be preserved by reason of the movements making to effect this object, it does become of consequence to desire some mode by which the evil that threatens the country may be remedied. There would be no way so effectual to cut off all inducement, to further action, in the opinion of your committee, as the refusal by the requisite number of States to acknowledge, for the future, the representation of property in slaves.

The plan to annex Texas to the Union, is by no means a new one. Nearly twenty years ago, at a time when that country was comparatively a desert, the idea of acquiring it was pressed in the remote newspapers of the West, by a distinguished Senator from the State of Missouri, who has been long known as one of the firmest, and boldest advocates which the slave power has ever yet had in America. Upon the accession of General Jackson to the presidency, the same scheme was considered as likely to form one of the leading objects of his administration. Negotiation was systematically entered into, with the authorities in Mexico, to which country, Texas was then considered to belong, for the cession of the territory to the United States at the price of four millions of dollars, belonging to the people of the Union. There is good reason to believe that even more money would have been offered to obtain it, had there been a prospect of success. But the party adverse to the concession, obtained the ascendency in Mexico, and all hope of gaining the point by negotiation, became faint. It was then that the project appears to have been conceived in the southwestern States, of effecting the purpose in a different way. An individual who had represented one of the districts of Tennessee in the Congress of the United States, and who had also been made governor of that State, the same person who is now President of the republic of Texas, declared his intention of going over to settle within the jurisdiction of Mexico. He probably did take the oath of allegiance required by the laws of that country, and became a citizen of Texas, one of its dependencies. Numbers of citizens of the United States followed this example of General Houston. The population increased in Texas, and with it increased, not the disposition to respect the oaths of allegiance, but the determination to break them. The standard of revolt was soon openly raised. The lone star of Texas, which affected to borrow all its brilliancy from the self-evident truths of the Declaration of our Independence, became the symbol of the restoration of domestic slavery over a land where it had been already abolished. Those who had the words of liberty on their lips, were at the same time preparing a form of government, which provided not merely that there should be slavery, but that it should be beyond the power of the legislature to abolish it. This last step was not, however, taken until some time afterward, when success had converted rebellion into revolution.

There was then a two-fold policy going on during the period extending from the years 1829 to 1837. A policy, by which on the one hand, the government of Mexico was pressed by the executive of the United States to cede in negotiation the territory of Texas, for a sum of money, and on the other, measures were taking to tear off that same territory by means of domestic strife, excited, if not wholly created, by emigrants from the western States of the Union. The spirit of resistance of almost any other government but that of Mexico, would have been completely overcome by this ingenious operation. On one side, the inducement offered by a large sum of money—on the other, the great probability of a costly war, with a determination by no means certain to be successful, might not unreasonably be supposed sufficient to overcome the tenacity of any foreign power. It is not clear to what extent the urgency of the representative of the United States in Mexico, Mr. Butler, was carried—but there is reason to believe, from some intimations thrown out by the Secretary of State, in one of the despatches addressed to him, and since printed, that means of an equivocal character were resorted to, though not with the privity of the executive, to bring about the desired result. None of the devices, (whether honest or otherwise, your committee will not undertake to pronounce,) proved successful. The Spanish pride of the Mexican got the victory over his avarice. The war went on between the mother country and the revolted territory, until the battle of San Jacinto decided the result. And then a new scene of operations opened, which came more directly within the observation of the citizens of the free States.

The policy of the slaveholding interest in the Union, now became somewhat different from what it had been. Mexico was no longer to be solicited, but threatened, while every arrangement was to be made to fix the dismemberment of Texas irrevocably. To this end her independence was to be recognized by the Congress of the United States, and this was effected in a mode quite consistent with the whole train of operations that have been described. On the 22d of December, 1836, the President sent a special message to the two houses of Congress, on the subject of Texas, in which he recommended that the United States should stand aloof and maintain a position of neutrality in the quarrel. Two weeks later another message came, complaining of Mexico, and requesting authority to dictate to that power from the deck of the American vessels of war, on her coast. A few weeks elapsed, and just at the close of the session of Congress, an amendment was slipped into the annual appropriation bill, which made a provision for a minister to Texas, whenever it should please the President to see fit not to continue to be neutral. There had been no material change in the position of the contending parties, since the 22d of December. Yet it was only a day or two after the appropriation referred to passed, that the President discovered neutrality to be no longer a virtue. He forthwith nominated to the Senate a diplomatic agent to Texas, and that body with a good will, which is rarely wanting where the interests of slave representation are concerned, proclaimed to the world that the time had arrived when the imported citizens of the United States, had succeeded in converting themselves into independent citizens of the new republic of Texas.

A great step appeared then to have been gained. The people of the free States had thus been made to witness the transition of Texas from a revolted district to an independent community, without much wincing. It was hoped that the next transformation would be managed with equal ease, and the independent community would merge itself into the society of States, possessing the right, under the federal Constitution, of a large representation of their property in slaves. And thus this society, guided by one common interest, would obtain forever the power of perpetuating their control over the free principles of the Constitution. Unfortunately for this well-laid plan, the master-spirit had been forced into retirement. Mr. Van Buren came into power as President of the United States, without the power over the popular mind, and the popular heart which his predecessor wielded. But five months were suffered to elapse before a proposition from Texas was submitted in form to the government at Washington, by the Texan minister, "to unite the two people under one and the same government." It is due to Mr. Van Buren to say, that he immediately declined treating upon any such proposition. He did so on the ground that the adoption of any such measure by the United States, while Mexico continued to refuse to acknowledge the independence of Texas, might be considered by that power as tantamount to a declaration of war. And this ground, it should be observed, has been deliberately taken by Mexico itself, in her communications made to the government at Washington, during the very last summer of 1843. It has had the effect, up to the present time, of discouraging the efforts of the friends of Texas to secure the annexation which they desire.

Yet it must not be supposed that the purpose is either changed or abandoned. There are persons in the free States, who are always willing to believe there is no danger from any measure, until the time arrives when the event and their conviction of their error come simultaneously. The legislature of Texas, after several years of professions of independence, has now again taken off the veil, and openly advocates a union with us; and their movement has met with a sympathetic action in the whole chain of the southwestern States. One of the representatives of the State of Georgia, in the Congress of the United States, has already brought forward the proposition in the lower branch, and there can be no reasonable doubt that it meets with more or less of favor, both in the executive and legislative departments of the government. The motive now is to sustain the right of representation of property in man, which the apportionment, under the census of 1840, shows to be declining. It is idle to suppose that this issue can be met with indifference or silence. The result may be the success of the scheme through some compromise or other, among the friends of various candidates for the presidency. Your committee desire not to be understood as referring to any state of things actually existing, so much as to what may be supposed likely to take place at some future moment. It is wise, therefore, to take strong ground at once—to endeavor to remove the motive for pressing the project, by abolishing the right of representation of property in man; and if unsuccessful in this, to assume the position that the execution of the project of the annexation of Texas, would be a palpable violation of all the conditions of that instrument, only one of which Massachusetts desires in a constitutional manner to annul.

Happily it does sometimes occur, that those most eager in the pursuit of evil designs, in their very zeal adopt means which untimately prove the most serious obstacles to their success. So long as Texas remained a dependency on the government of Mexico, there was a possibility that a cession by Mexico of that country to the United States could be made, consistently with the somewhat violent construction which had been already placed upon the Constitution by President Jefferson, in the case of Louisiana, and which time, and the assent of the people of the United States, had sanctioned. But the solemn and public declaration of the United States, acknowledging Texas to be an independent State, has entirely changed the aspect of the case. Texas is no longer a country which can be ceded from hand to hand, by virtue of a piece of parchment. Texas professes to have a form of government of her own, which her citizens have deliberately entered into a compact to establish. And the people of the United States have entered into a compact of the same nature in their Constitution. It is not in the power of either government that has been thus constituted, to enter into any new compact between the two, which virtually sets aside the old ones. If this is to be done, it can be done only by a new appeal to the people of both countries, by a new convention, and by a new Constitution. If it be within the power of the legislative department of the federal government, by a simple law, to declare the United States annexed to Texas, it is equally within its power to declare them annexed to any other independent country on the face of the globe. Your committee would respectfully inquire where such an enormous grant of power can be found in any part of the Constitution? Did the State of Massachusetts ever imagine that, in the seventeen clauses of the eighth section of the first article, which distinctly enumerate the powers given by her people as well as the people of the other States to that legislative department, there could be found a shadow of light to introduce new and independent nations into the confederacy. Your committee confidently challenge a reply. They maintain, then, that an attempt on the part of the Congress of the United States, aided by the executive, to introduce Texas into the Union by force of a simple legislative act, should be regarded as null and void in its effect upon the States of the Union. And the perseverance in executing such an attempt, by using the forces of the Union, must be regarded as equivalent to a deliberate purpose of overturning the Constitution, and building on its ruins the perpetuity of the institution of domestic slavery in the land.

The "union of the two people," to use the words of the Texan proposition, "under one and the same government," can take place then, only by a dissolution of the two separate forms of government which existed prior to that union. That can no longer be regarded as the Constitution of the United States, which becomes the Constitution of the United States and Texas. The people of neither country have sanctioned any such compound interest as this would be. Their conventions neither formed it nor ratified it. The case was never contemplated in 1788. There is an obvious necessity for resorting to the primary source of power for a new grant. And although the people of the several States might be content to continue the forms of the Union for an indefinite time, after so deliberate a violation of the terms of the compact had been perpetrated as the admission into it of a foreign State, there can be no question that their obligation so to do would have become, by that act alone, utterly void.

Your committee are therefore of opinion, that the only proper method of securing the annexation of Texas to the United States, is by an appeal to the people of both countries, either through conventions, or through amendment to the existing Constitutions. In these forms the people of Massachusetts are, in their belief, prepared calmly and deliberately to meet the question. In these forms, they will not show an utter repugnance to the measure itself. But it must be accompanied with a condition, and that is, the abolition of all right of representation of property in man, if not, indeed, that of the institution of slavery itself. On this point, it is believed, there will be little or no division of opinion among her people. However much they may differ upon the ordinary topic of legislation and government, upon this they are united. Reproaches will not terrify, or ridicule deter them. If their attachment to the abstract principles of human liberty, bring them again into difficulty, they will have the consolation of remembering that, as it is not the first time that this has happened to them, so also they may hope that they will once more come out of the trial with honor and success.

Upon consideration of the several matters referred to them, your committee will conclude by stating, first, as to the petitions referred to them, that they offered to the petitioners a hearing upon the points specified in their prayer, but none of them, so far as your committee could learn, were desirous to avail themselves of the opportunity. The committee are not aware that there are now any reasons for legislation upon questions of a domestic character, involving distinctions among citizens on account of color, unless the law respecting the enrolment of the militia, be an exception, the consideration of which has already been referred to another committee. Your committee therefore report, that it is inexpedient to legislate upon the subjects prayed for in the said petition. Secondly, as to the resolutions of South Carolina, recommending the annexation of Texas, they recommend the passage of the following resolves:

Resolved, That the power to unite an independent foreign State with the United States is not among the powers delegated to the general government by the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That the commonwealth of Massachusetts, faithful to the compact between the people of the United States, according to the plain meaning and intent in which it was understood and acceded to by them, is sincerely anxious for its preservation. But that it is determined, as it doubts not the other States are, to submit to undelegated powers in no body of men on earth That the project of the annexation of Texas, unless arrested on the threshold, may tend to drive these States into a dissolution of the Union, and will furnish new calumnies against republican governments, by exposing the gross contradiction of a people professing to be free, and yet seeking to extend and perpetuate the subjection of their slaves.

Resolved, That his excellency the governor, be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolves to each of the senators and members of the House of Representatives of this commonwealth in the Congress of the United States.

Resolved, That his excellency the governor, be requested to transmit a copy of the same resolves to the executive of the United States and of the several States.

By order of the committee:

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, *Chairman.*

From the Liberator.

THE HUNDRED CONVENTIONS.

(Concluded.)

It is a harder thing to be an abolitionist in Southern Pennsylvania, than in New England or New-York, and harder still in Southern Ohio and Indiana. In the latter State, it is no uncommon thing for rewards of some hundreds of dollars to be offered for the heads of those persons who make themselves most obnoxious to the slaveholders and their friends, by their zeal and ready earnestness in aiding the escape of fugitives, who fly to them for aid. The houses of those nearest the border, are not unfrequently threatened with conflagration; and though I know of no instance in which such a threat has been put into execution, yet the slaveholders would have as little difficulty in finding tools ready enough to do such abominable work, as they do in procuring those who will track with the almost unerring scent of the bloodhound, the footsteps of their flying slaves. The pro-slavery laws, both in Ohio and Indiana, but most especially in Indiana, are exceedingly severe, and no opportunity is suffered to escape, where public sentiment will permit their infliction, of putting them in force against the abolitionists. Slave law is the paramount law, the *legis legem*, and constitutional provisions, or principles, to the contrary nothwithstanding, all must yield to the tyrant law which rivets the chain round the limbs of the southern oppressor, which the vainly thinks is only fastened upon the slave. That which in Ohio has become established by a judicial decision in the Van Zandt case, that a man may not obey, without the fear of punishment, the law of God and common humanity, and give a crust of bread to him who is an hungered, and a cup of water to him who is athirst, is statute law in Indiana. A man may not there, without rendering himself liable to prosecution, harbor or feed a fugitive, or even a free colored man, or hire him to labor, unless bonds are previously entered into for the good behaviour of such person. In some places, it is true, these laws are set openly at defiance; but in others, there are Shylocks enough to demand the penalty.

It was gratifying to me to find how complete are all the arrangements for aiding those who escape from the slave States, on their way to Canada. Though not a work which was contemplated in the infancy of the enterprise, and one of which we at the North, know little from experience, it has become now, on the slave border, an efficient anti-slavery instrumentality, and an important, as well as very onerous work. The slaves themselves have means of information, to some extent, and friends about them in the slave States, both which put them in the way of watching those on the other side of the border, who will forward them by various methods and avenues, and swell the number of fugitives from democratic oppression to monarchical freedom and protection. It is difficult, and indeed impossible, to estimate the number who yearly escape; it is probably generally under estimated. The line of the slave land along the border of the free, is almost depopulated of slaves; the difficulty of keeping them is so great, where the facilities of escape are so many, that few attempt it. I heard of some instances where planters, along this border, had lost their whole *stock*. We were ourselves, in our hasty journey, continually coming upon the tracks of these poor creatures, sometimes conveyed singly, by the friends, sometimes in large companies, and occasionally one less fortunate, who alone and unaided, had pursued up to the point we heard of him, his painful journey. At one time, we were just behind a company of twenty, who had been scattered, like a covey of partridges by the huntsman, by men who had followed them many miles into Indiana, all armed to the teeth with pistol and bowie-knife, and ready to shoot down, like lawful game, any of the terrified victims whom they might overtake. We came upon one who had in his back the buckshot fired at him by one of those ruthless villains. At one village, three arrived the same night with ourselves, a poor fellow, both of whose legs were gone, who was from the extreme Southwest, and had by some means escaped, and come up the river by steamboat in concealment, and was then conveyed through the State by friends. A woman arrived also at the same time with ourselves at another village, who but two days before had escaped from her mistress, by whose own hand the poor creature's back was so lacerated with the whip, that she could not turn in the wagon in which she rode, without an involuntary groan: and yet, in this condition, was it absolutely necessary that she should be hurried onward! But all the instances we heard of were not of this painful character. At the house of a friend, where we stopped, the family had recently been awakened in the dead of night, by a party who sung beneath their windows a hymn, of which this verse gives the character:

"Our bondage it shall end,
By and by, by and by;
Our bondage it shall end,
By and by;
And our sorrows have an end,—
We'll no more to slavery bend,
Since the white man is our friend,
We'll go on, we'll go on."

They were a company of fugitives, on their way, under the guidance of a white friend, to a freer land. Many touching and interesting incidents were given us by those who are often called upon to assist these wanderers. One friend alone has given aid to nearly a thousand within a few years past. I am sometimes ashamed of the noisy anti-slavery of some of our eastern people, who make not, and never have made, any sacrifice, worth the calling so, and contrast their lives with those of some of our western friends, who have been obliged as abolitionists, to bring all they had to the altar.

The great distinction between the abolitionists of the West, and the majority of those with us,—the old organizationists,—is their political action. They all belong to liberty party—a liberty party differing from that of the East, as I before said, both in its inception, and its guiding principles now. It is only their *political* anti-slavery instrumentality, and not the development of *all* their anti-slavery character. In the meetings of their societies, the great end and aim of our enterprise, is kept constantly in view, as a great moral and religious work,—the abolition of chattel slavery. Liberty party there receives no consideration. But in political caucuses and gatherings, this machinery is created and put in motion. They are careful to keep the main work, wherein all may engage, clear and distinct from those instrumentalities, whether political or ecclesiastical, in which a part only may feel it their duty to enlist. In short, they have not, as the liberty party here has done, merged all their anti-slavery feeling and action in that party. Nor has there any feeling of religious bigotry or sectarian jealousy intermingled with, or given direction to, the desire to carry out their anti-slavery principles at the ballot-box, except perhaps here and there in a single individual. As a general rule, there is nothing among them of the spirit of "new organization," and but little knowledge, even, among a large majority, of the existence of any such spirit in others. The true abolitionist in the West, if he act politically, is a liberty party man; in the East, to belong to that party, exposes one to the suspicion,—though not always justly,—of being "new organized," and of a want of truth, from the fact of his being associated with certain men who have once betrayed the slave and his friends, in his anti-slavery principles. This very strong distinction exists, and should, I think, be borne in mind when liberty party as a whole, is referred to.

Western abolitionism, then, and Eastern "old organized," are, I think, as nearly identical in character, as, under the differing circumstances of the two people, they can be at this day. Their experiences and trials are different from ours, and in some sense more painful. But they have not been called upon, and I think they never will be, to go through the ordeal, by which it has been our lot to be tried, of the treachery of professed friends, of the baneful influence of a corrupt Church, and the deadly hatred and opposition of a time-serving priesthood. In their state of society, the two last probably can never, till anti-slavery has outgrown them, if they continue corrupt, or has carried them along in a purer condition, exert such an influence over the people, as they do in our own more advanced, and fixed state of society; for the anti-slavery faith has taken deep root in the hearts of too large a portion of the people, and has grown suddenly to too large a stature to be uprooted by a designing priesthood, whom self-preservation will rather prompt to follow where the character of the people will not permit them to lead. In political action, they are perhaps more advanced than ourselves. None who are held to be true abolitionists adhere to their old parties, as it is to be feared too many of our friends at home do. They hold the man unworthy of their suffrages, who is not outspoken on the great subject of human rights, and judge of a candidate by his life, and not by what he may say on the eve of an election. In theory our ground is the same, but in practice they are more true, and are not to be seduced from their own party by promises or threats. Upon the "Church question," they have done less, and said less, than their New England coadjutors, but partly because, as I have already hinted, there is less need to do so. As a whole, however, they are, I think, less advanced than the East upon this point. The Church has not been so thoroughly sifted, and its rottenness so fully exposed. But this, though generally true, is not universally. The Orthodox Friends, in Indiana, have divided, because of the pro-slavery character of the old society, and are now known by the distinguishing appellations of "Bodyites," and "Anti-Slavery Friends." The Hicksites in that State, are no better than the Bodyites; and there seems to be a spirit at work in their body which will soon cause a division among them also. With the anti-slavery character of the Covenanters, no fault, it seems to me, can be found. I would that all the abolitionists of the country were upon the same high ground, and added to it their present zeal and activity, the question of dissolution or abolition would be soon brought to an issue. Thousands of these people who will fellowship slavery neither in Church, nor in State, dwell in Ohio and Western Pennsylvania. They should not, however, be taken into the account, when considering the fruits of the present movement, as their testimony was made long before it commenced. Many of them, however, are technical abolitionists, and the whole force of their influence and activity is given for the slave. From the Rev. Dr. Wilson, the head of a theological seminary in Alleghany city, Pennsylvania, down to the humble clergyman of a small country parish, we have received from them assistance and encouragement. But the new Wesleyan church is the legitimate product of the anti-slavery movement, and, so far as I know, is entirely true; at least, so far as personal intercourse with some of its members, has taught me. I have not found it to be wanting in a consistent course of action, either ecclesiastically, or politically. A movement was, I understood, commenced among the Presbyterians on the "Western Reserve," in Ohio, sometime during the last summer; but the result, if it had any, I have never learned. The Church, as a whole, is as corrupt as our own; and it is only needed that efficient and faithful laborers should be sent into the field to expose its corruptions, to bring the people up to a true standard upon this subject. The battle will not be so long a one, nor so arduous, for the slave, in the West, as it has been in New England, for it only needs that the truth shall be spread before them, at least in Ohio—and Indiana will, ere long, I think, be in the same recipient state, to carry the people for anti-slavery. God speed the day, when "the sun shall not rise upon a tyrant, nor set upon a slave."

Hastily and very imperfectly has this review of the "Hundred Conventions" been written. Shall it convey to your readers any clear idea of what the work was, and how it was accomplished, of the trials, the duties, and the sacrifices of western abolitionists, and of the peculiar characteristics of western anti-slavery, which all go to make up the aspect which our cause now wears there, my wish, and I presume your own, will be fulfilled. S. H. GAY.

DANIEL WEBSTER'S LETTER

In reply to a communication addressed to him by a large number of the citizens of Worcester county, Massachusetts, requesting his opinions on the subject of the proposed annexation of Texas to the United States.

WASHINGTON, January 23, 1844.

Gentlemen:—Circumstances have not allowed me an opportunity, until the present moment, of answering your letter of the 18th of December.

In that letter you expressed the belief, that a proposition might probably be presented to Congress, at its present session, for the annexation of Texas to the United States; and you desire to know my opinions on the constitutionality of such a measure; its probable effect on the character and future action of our government; its tendency to promote the cause of freedom, or to strengthen the bonds of slavery; and, in general, the consequences which may justly be expected to result from the annexation to the United States, of a large slaveholding country, not only to American liberty, American industry, and the continuance of the Union itself, but, also, to the great cause of human knowledge, virtue, and happiness, in the United States, in Texas, and throughout the world.

At the time when your letter was received, I indulged a strong hope, that no such proposition would be made in Congress, or would proceed from any other quarter. I deem it quite unfortunate that a topic, so certain to produce great excitement, should be added to the other causes, operating at the present moment, to create diversities of political opinion.

As an intention has recently been manifested, however, of making the annexation of Texas to the United States, a subject of discussion in Congress, I lose no time in answering your letter, and in complying with its request. The answer is quite at hand.

In the early part of the year 1837, it was generally understood, that a proposition was about to be made to the government of the United States, for the annexation of Texas to the Union. Having occasion, in March of that year, to address a political meeting in the city of New-York, upon the interesting topics of the day, I could not, consistently with my sense of propriety and duty, abstain from a full expression of my sentiments on that subject, I take the liberty to transcribe the remarks then made by me:

Gentlemen, proposing to express opinions on the principal subjects of interest at the present moment, it is impossible to overlook the delicate question, which has arisen from events which have happened in the late Mexican province of Texas. The independence of that province has now been recognized by the government of the United States. The Congress gave the President the means, to be used when he saw fit, of opening a diplomatic intercourse with its government, and the late President immediately made use of those means.

I saw no objection, under the circumstances, of voting an appropriation to be used when the President should think the proper time had come; and he deemed, certainly very promptly, that the time had already arrived. Cer-

tainly, gentlemen, the history of Texas is not a little wonderful. A very few people, in a very short time, have established a government for themselves, against the authority of the parent State; and which government, it is generally supposed, there is little probability, at the present moment, of the parent State being able to overturn.

This government is, in form, a copy of our own. It is an American Constitution, substantially after the great American model. We all, therefore, must wish it success; and there is no one who will more heartily rejoice than I shall, to see an independent community, intelligent, industrious, and friendly toward us, springing up, and rising into happiness, distinction, and power, upon our own principles of liberty and government.

But it cannot be disguised, gentlemen, that a desire, or an intention is already manifested to annex Texas to the United States. On a subject of such mighty magnitude as this, and at a moment when the public attention is drawn to it, I should feel myself wanting in candor, if I did not express my opinion; since all must suppose, that on such a question it is impossible I should be without some opinion.

I say then, gentlemen, in all frankness, that I see objections, I think insurmountable objections, to the annexation of Texas to the United States. When the Constitution was formed, it is not probable that either its framers, or the people, ever looked to the admission of any States into the Union, except such as then already existed, and such as should be formed out of territories then already belonging to the United States. Fifteen years after the adoption of the Constitution, however, the case of Louisiana arose. Louisiana was obtained by treaty with France: who had recently obtained it from Spain; but the object of this acquisition, certainly, was not mere extension of territory. Other great political interests were connected with it. Spain, while she possessed Louisiana, had held the mouths of the great rivers which rise in the Western States, and flow into the Gulf of Mexico. She had disputed our use of these rivers, already, and with a powerful nation in possession of these outlets to the sea, it is obvious that the commerce of all the West was in danger of perpetual vexation. The command of these rivers to the sea, was, therefore, the great object aimed at in the acquisition of Louisiana. But that acquisition necessarily brought territory along with it, and three States now exist, formed out of that ancient province.

A similar policy, and a similar necessity, though perhaps not entirely so urgent, led to the acquisition of Florida.

Now, no such necessity, no such policy, requires the annexation of Texas. The accession of Texas to our territory, is not necessary to the full and complete enjoyment of all which we already possess. Her case therefore stands entirely different from that of Louisiana and Florida. There being then no necessity for extending the limits of the Union, in that direction, we ought, I think, for numerous and powerful reasons, to be content with our present boundaries.

Gentlemen, we all see, that by whomsoever possessed, Texas is likely to be a slaveholding country; and I frankly avow my entire unwillingness to do anything which shall extend the slavery of the African race, on this continent, or add other slaveholding States to the Union. When I say that I regard slavery in itself as a great moral, social, and political evil, I only use language which has been adopted, by distinguished men, themselves citizens of slaveholding States. I shall do nothing, therefore, to favor or encourage its further extension. We have slavery, already, among us. The Constitution found it among us; it recognized it, and gave it solemn guaranties. To the full extent of these guaranties we are all bound in honor, in justice, and by the Constitution. All the stipulations, contained in the Constitution, in favor of the slaveholding States, which are already in the Union, ought to be fulfilled, and so far as depends on me, shall be fulfilled, in the fulness of their spirit, and to the exactness of their letter. Slavery, as it exists in the States, is beyond the reach of Congress. It is a concern of the States themselves; they have never submitted it to Congress, and Congress has no rightful power over it. I shall concur therefore, in no act, no measure, no menace, no indication of purpose, which shall interfere, or threaten to interfere, with the exclusive authority of the several States, over the subject of slavery, as it exists within their respective limits. All this appears to me to be matter of plain and imperative duty.

But when we come to speak of admitting new States, the subject assumes an entirely different aspect. Our rights and our duties are then both different.

The free States, and all the States, are then at liberty to accept, or to reject. When it is proposed to bring new members into this political partnership, the old members have a right to say on what terms such new partners are to come in, and what they are to bring along with them. In my opinion the people of the United States will not consent to bring a new, vastly extensive, and slaveholding country, large enough for half a dozen or a dozen States, into the Union. In my opinion they ought not to consent to it. Indeed I am altogether at a loss, to conceive what possible benefit any part of this country can expect to derive from such annexation. All benefit, to any part, is at least doubtful and uncertain; the objections obvious, plain and strong. On the general question of slavery, a great portion of the community is already strongly excited. The subject has not only attracted attention as a question of politics, but it has struck a far deeper toned chord. It has arrested the religious feeling of the country; it has taken strong hold on the consciences of men. He is a rash man, indeed, and little conversant with human nature, and especially has he a very erroneous estimate of the character of the people of this country, who supposes that a feeling of this kind is to be trifled with, or despised. It will assuredly cause itself to be respected. It may be reasoned with, it may be made willing, I believe it is entirely willing, to fulfill all existing engagements, and all existing duties, to uphold and defend the Constitution, as it is established, with whatever regrets, about some provisions, which it does actually contain. But to coerce it into silence—to endeavor to restrain its free expression, to seek to compress and confine it, warm as it is, and more heated, as such endeavors would inevitably render it—should all this be attempted, I know nothing, even in the Constitution, or in the Union itself, which would not be endangered by the explosion which might follow.

I see, therefore, no political necessity for the annexation of Texas to the Union; no advantages to be derived from it; and objections to it, of a strong, and in my judgment, decisive character.

I believe it to be for the interest and happiness of the whole Union, to remain as it is, without diminution and without addition.

I need hardly say that these opinions remain entirely unaltered.

Five months after these remarks were made, that is to say, on the 4th of August, 1837, the minister of Texas, Mr. Memacum Hunt, addressed a letter to the Secretary of State of the United States, submitting a direct proposition for the annexation of Texas to the United States. This letter recited, at much length, the history of the separation of Texas from Mexico, and set forth, very fully, the advantages, which it was supposed would accrue to the United States from such annexation.

On the 25th of August, Mr. Forsyth, the Secretary of State, answered this letter;—and the following is an extract from that answer:

The question of the annexation of a foreign independent State to the United States, has never before been presented to this government. Since the adoption of their Constitution, two large additions have been made to the domain, originally claimed by the United States. In acquiring them this government was not actuated by a mere thirst for sway over a broader space. Paramount interests of many members of the confederacy, and the permanent well being of all, imperatively urged upon this government the necessity of an extension of its jurisdiction over Louisiana and Florida. As peace, however, was our cherished policy, never to be departed from, unless honor should be periled by adhering to it, we patiently endured for a time serious inconveniences and privations, and sought a transfer of those regions, (by negotiations and not by conquest.)

The issue of those negotiations was a conditional cession of these countries to the United States. The circumstances, however, of their being colonial possessions of France and Spain, and therefore dependent on the metropolitan governments, renders those transactions materially different from that which would be presented by the question of the annexation of Texas. The latter is a State, with an independent government, acknowledged as such by the United States, and claiming a territory beyond, though bordering on the region ceded by France, in the treaty of the 30th of April, 1803. Whether the Constitution of the United States, contemplated the annexation of such a State, and if so, in what manner that object is to be effected, are questions, in the opinion of the President, it would be inexpedient, under existing circumstances, to agitate.

So long as Texas shall remain at war, while the United States are at peace with her adversary, the proposition of the Texan minister plenipotentiary necessarily involves the question of war with that adversary. The United States are bound to Mexico by a treaty of amity and commerce, which will be scrupulously observed on their part, so long as it can be reasonably hoped that Mexico will perform her duties, and respect our rights under it. The United States might justly be suspected of a disregard of the friendly purposes of the compact if the overture of General Hunt, were to be even received for future consideration, as this would imply a disposition on our part to espouse the quarrel of Texas with Mexico; a disposition wholly at variance with the spirit of the treaty, with the uniform policy, and the obvious welfare of the United States.

From that time until quite recently, the subject has been withdrawn from public attention. The war between Mexico and Texas, is not yet concluded; although active hostilities have ceased, and a truce is understood to have been agreed upon. In the meantime, Texas has maintained itself, as an independent sovereignty, and has extended its relations with the nations of the world. If, in the judgment of the government of the United States, there were insuperable objections even to entertaining any negotiation on the subject of annexation, seven years ago, it seems to me that time and events have served only to strengthen such objections.

The constitutional authority of Congress to admit new States into the Union, formed of territories not belonging to any of the States at the adoption of the present form of government, is an important point in your inquiries.

The Constitution of the United States provides, that "New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union, but no new States shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress."

It would seem very reasonable to confine this provision to States to be formed out of territories already belonging to the United States, and in regard to which the old Congress, by accepting the cession of territory from individual States, and agreeing to the proposed terms of cession, had already stipulated that they might be created, and admitted into the Union. Any other construction would be forced and unnatural; and it would imply that the framers of the Constitution, and the people, were looking to the extension of their territories, although those which they then held were, one-half a wilderness, and the other half very thinly peopled. It is not at all probable, from the history of the States, from the circumstances in which they were placed in 1789, or from all that is to be learned of men's opinions and expectations at that day, that any idea was entertained, by anybody, of bringing into the Union, at any time, States, formed out of the territories of foreign powers. Indeed, much jealousy was felt towards the new government, from fears of its overbearing weight, and strength, when proposed to be established over the thirteen States. This jealousy, it is easy to believe, would have been heated into more decisive, and perhaps successful opposition, if it had been understood that projects of enlargement of boundaries, or territorial aggrandizement, had been among the objects contemplated by its establishment. And it is one of the unaccountable eccentricities, and apparent inconsistencies of opinion, that those who hold the Constitution of the United States to be a compact between States, should think, nevertheless, that the government created by that Constitution, is at liberty to introduce new States, formed out of foreign territory, with or without the consent of those who are regarded as original parties.

By the convention with France of the 30th April, 1803, Louisiana was ceded to the United States, with this condition:

The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States: and in the meantime they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess.

It is now known to have been Mr. Jefferson's opinion at the time, that an amendment of the Constitution was necessary, in order to carry this stipulation into effect; and it is known, also, that such was the opinion, ably and earnestly maintained by many distinguished persons in the government. The treaty, however, was ratified. No amendment of the Constitution was proposed, and in 1812, Louisiana was admitted into the Union as a State, upon the same footing as the original States. All branches of the government concurred in this act, and the country acquiesced in it.

In the year 1819, a treaty was concluded with Spain, for the cession of Florida. This treaty followed the precedent of that with France, and contained this stipulation:

The inhabitants of the territories which his Catholic majesty cedes to the United States, by this treaty, shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, as soon as may be consistent with the principles of the federal Constitution, and admitted to the enjoyment of all the privileges, rights, and immunities, of the citizens of the United States.

Florida has not yet been admitted into the Union, but the treaty was ratified, the cession accepted, according to its terms, and the people as well as the public authorities, have acquiesced in the contract for twenty years, and given it the sanction of their approbation.

Louisiana and Florida, therefore, are settled cases. The admission of one, and the agreement to admit the other, at a proper time, are facts, are acts done, and as such must have their full effect. But it does not follow that they are precedents for the annexation of Texas. Important differences are pointed out, between the cases, in Mr. Forsyth's letter; and others might be suggested. But it is enough to say, that what has been done, on, at best, a very questionable right, and in a case of strong and urgent necessity, is no sufficient warrant for a similar proceeding, in a case in which no such necessity exists, and in which both the right and the expediency may be very properly considered, on the original and independent grounds belonging to them.

I am certainly of opinion, with Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, Mr. J. Q. Adams, and other eminent men, that the Constitution never contemplated the admission of new States, formed out of the territories of foreign nations; and while I admit that what has been done, in regard to Louisiana and Florida, must now be considered as legally done, yet I do not admit the propriety of proceeding farther, and admitting not a territory, ceded by a foreign nation, but a foreign nation itself, with all its obligations and treaties, its laws and its institutions, into the number of the States, which compose this Union.

The broad question proposed by you, of the probable general influence of the annexation of Texas, upon American liberty and industry, the continuance of our Union, and the universal cause of knowledge, virtue, liberty, and happiness, is a question full of intense interest, and which suggests thoughts and reflections, well worthy to engage the deepest attention of intelligent minds. It is not to be doubted, that the continuance of the American Union, and its prosperity and success, under its present form of government, is a matter of high moment to all mankind. It is one of the most cherished hopes and reliances of that universal cause of which you speak; the cause of human knowledge, virtue, liberty, and happiness. And he is a bolder reasoner than I am, who has satisfied himself that this government may be extended indefinitely, either to the north or to the south, without endangering its stability, and its duration. It is true, that under the benificent operation of the practical principle of maintaining local governments for local purposes, and confiding general interests to a general government, the ends of political society are capable of being fulfilled, by the same free and popular system, and the same administration, over a large portion of the earth. This is the result of our experience; but our experience is the only instance of such a result. A monarchical and arbitrary government may extend itself to the full limit of its military means. Under such a government, society is kept together by pressure from above, by the weight of the government itself, and the strength of its arm. But how obvious is it, that, in free, elective systems, the political society exists and coheres, and must exist and cohere, not by superincumbent pressure on its several parts, but by the internal and mutual attraction of those parts; by the assimilation of interests and feelings; by a sense of common country, common political family, common character, fortune, and destiny. Not only the organization of such systems, but also their continuance by means of periodical popular elections, necessarily requires intercourse, mutual conference and understanding, and a general acquaintance, among those who are to unite in such elections. When individuals are to be selected for high situations in government, and to exercise an influence over the happiness of all, it would seem indispensible, that a general, if not a universal confidence should be inspired, by knowledge of their character, their virtues, and patriotism. It certainly may be very well questioned, with how much of mutual intelligence, and how much of a spirit of conciliation and harmony, those who live on the St. Lawrence and the St. John, might be expected, ordinarily, to unite in the choice of a president, with the inhabitants of the banks of the Rio Grande del Norte, and the Colorado. It is evident, at least, that there must be some boundary, or some limits to a republic which is to have a common centre. Free and ardent speculations may lead to the indulgence of an idea, that such a republic may be extended over a whole hemisphere. On the other hand, minds less sanguine, or more chastened by the examples of history, may fear, that extension often produces weakness, rather than strength; and that political attraction, like other attractions, is less and less powerful, as the parts become more and more distant. In this difference, between ardent speculations, and cautious fears, it seems to me to be the truest wisdom to abide by the present state of things, since that state of things is acknowledged on all hands, to be singularly happy, prosperous, and honorable. In all points of view, therefore, in which I can regard the subject, my judgment is decidedly unfavorable to the project of annexing Texas to the United States.

"You have a Sparta"—such was the admonition of the ancient prudence—"embellish it!" We have a republic, gentlemen, of vast extent, and unequalled natural advantages; a republic, full of interest in its origin, its history, its present condition, and its prospects for the future. Instead of aiming to enlarge its boundaries, let us seek, rather, to strengthen its union, to draw out its resources, to maintain and improve its institutions of religion and liberty, and thus to push it forward in its career of prosperity and glory. I am, gentlemen, with most true regard, your obliged friend, and obedient servant,

DANIEL WEBSTER.

From the Present.

ABOLITION OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

BY WILLIAM H. CHANNING.

At the risk of being thought absurdly fanatical, I am glad to take the responsibility of saying calmly, deliberately, decidedly, that I heartily approve of the famous Massachusetts petition copied below. *If legal murder is to be upheld as a Christian institution, let Christian ministers perform the sacred right.* Is it not simple hypocrisy, to advocate the execution of criminals as a divinely authorized penalty, and yet to shrink, as if the act was derogatory to character, from its infliction? A man who is convinced that God commands "blood for blood," ought to feel it an honor and a privilege to be a hangman. The principle of this petition is just and reasonable:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in General Court convened:

The undersigned, citizens of Massachusetts, earnestly entreat you immediately to abolish all laws of this commonwealth which require the infliction of death, as a penalty for crime.

If, however, such abolition shall be deemed by you inconsistent with the public welfare, and an infringement of the law of God, then we pray you—

First—That clergymen, instead of sheriffs, may be appointed executioners, they having been ordained and consecrated as ministers of Him whose law is said to require "blood for blood." Your petitioners conceive, that if the office of chaplain in legislative and military bodies is too sacred to be conferred, without manifest impropriety, upon mere laymen, however celebrated for piety and moral worth, the fearfully solemn work of putting an end to human life, and ushering the soul of the criminal into the presence of its final Judge, should be committed to none other than ordained and consecrated hands.

Secondly—In order that executions may be invested with all possible religious solemnity, and exert their proper influence upon society, we pray you so to alter the laws, that they may hereafter take place upon the Sabbath, in or near some place of public worship, such as may be selected by the clerical executioner, that thus the whole community may witness them, instead of being confined, as at present, to the jail-yards, where they can be seen but by a small number of persons, and those not always of the class most likely to be benefited by beholding such a scene. This arrangement would seem to accord with the example of our fathers, who placed their pillories and whipping-posts "at each church's door."

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 21, 1844.

MINORITY REPORT ON THE GAG-RULE.

In our former notice of this document, some misprints occurred, which, in addition to one or two oversights from the necessary haste of editorial writing, may have rendered the meaning of one or two sentences obscure. The word "establish," was printed for the word *abolish*; "obseurity," for *absurdity*. One link in the reasoning which was in our mind on the proviso of the Virginia act of cession, was omitted: The legislature of Virginia had in contemplation that the United States would become not only the depository of the sovereignty of the territory, but also the owner in fee simple of land; it was indispensable to the purpose for which the cession was made, viz: for the *residence* of all branches of the government. Besides this, the United States, by receiving the transfer of the sovereignty of the District, would, by the right of eminent domain, become the owner of land by escheat, and other legal modes. The legislature of Virginia then, knowing that this government was capable of taking and holding the fee of the lands, in the territory of which they transferred the sovereignty, thought it prudent expressly to limit that transfer to the sovereignty. But they did not cede anything else in which it could have entered into their imaginations that the United States could ever have a property. It surely will not be seriously contended that these States can hold *property in men*. The "strict construction" school may possibly go to that latitude, and contend that Congress may buy or kidnap men, and form them into armies.

We believe it was stated in Mr. Giddings's well-known expose of the Florida war, that under *South Carolinian* management of the war department, some slaves who had been *kidnapped* by our army in Florida, were put up at auction by this government, and knocked down to the highest bidder; but that the slaves, (strange to tell!) refused to be delivered to the purchaser; and the officer, in charge of them as *prisoners*, did not consider that he had any authority, by law, to deliver them to the purchaser; and they were not delivered, except from fear of that infernal felicity, in which American slaves are so supremely blest, that their disinterested and self-sacrificing masters are willing to continue it only for the slave's sake! The Secretary of War (Mr. Poinsett) was obliged to yield. The "northern man with southern principles," was obliged to yield to those obstinate and absurd negroes, who are now (*laus Deo!*) with their humane savage friends beyond the Mississippi. If even slaveholders and their satellites could have found a pretense of any authority in this government to buy and sell men, that sale would have been completed; for the purchaser had paid the money, and the money was in the treasury. There being no authority, except by act of Congress, to take any money out of the treasury, the purchaser of the slaves has had a claim (to the amount of $70,000) before Congress for four or five years to get back his money. We must acknowledge that it seems to us perfectly clear that he ought to have it without delay; but the slaveholders and the slave-party are so afraid of having the transaction discussed, and laid open in all its history and bearings, that as soon as an intention is manifested of examining the bill, they lay it aside; and so it goes over from year to year. If an opportunity should ever occur of carrying it, *sub silencio*, it will pass. We have therefore the authority of a slave administration, at the head of which was the cunningest man on the continent, for pronouncing, as we do with entire confidence, that this government has no authority to buy, sell, or hold slaves; and that such contingency never entered into the imagination of the legislature of Virginia at the time the cession of the District was made. That legislature therefore could not have intended by the proviso to limit, as is contended by Mr. Leigh, the jurisdiction of Congress over *persons*.

An error occurred in the form of the reasoning as to the power of Congress, upon Mr. Wise's principle, to *establish* slavery in the District. Some very sound lawyers think they had no power, on any principle whatever, to establish it. But that is not our point. Upon Mr. Wise's principle, viz: "Nothing, which Congress is expressly prohibited by the Constitution from doing in respect to the whole nation, can it do in the District of Columbia," it is certain that they could not establish slavery in the District. Now, they did establish slavery in the District, when, in 1801, they passed a law that the laws of Virginia and Maryland should be and continue in force therein. The error (not affecting, however, the reasoning against Mr. Wise and his colleagues' conclusions,) consisted in taking it for granted that the laws of those States ceased to be in force, in their respective portions of the District, *before* Congress provided for the continuance of those laws. This was a mistake. Those laws never ceased for a moment to be in force; but they owe their continuance to Congress, which is precisely the same thing, and requires an exercise of precisely the same power, as it would have done to revive them, had they expired, or to pass them originally, had the States ceding the District been free.

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE.

WASHINGTON, March 14, 1844.

The Texas question is now hastening rapidly to a *denouement*. To-day it was popped in the House of Representatives. Mr. *Garret Davis*, of Kentucky, in opposing a proposition to abolish the West Point Academy, made a slight allusion to it; observing that if we were to be involved in a war for the annexation of Texas, it would be a wild and inconsistent policy to destroy our seminary of officers, and to dismiss, as the amendment proposed, the supernumerary officers, who had been educated there. This was understood to be an *argumentum ad hominem*, addressed to certain members, supposed to be in favor of annexation, and of course in favor of war, who nevertheless were aiming at the destruction of the military academy. Mr. Davis is known to be opposed to the project of annexation. After him, Mr. *Holmes*, of South Carolina, took the floor, and in the first place, let off a thundering broadside against "the wild democracy" of his radical coadjutors, who were doing ever so many things to provoke war, and yet were striving with might and main to have the country unprepared for it. He then went on to say, that if Texas was annexed, (*which he took to be the settled policy of this government,*) we should want all the officers we had, and all that we could make. He turned from the Speaker, and facing the benches of the left, the democratic benches, said, "I take it for granted you are all in favor of the annexation of Texas." This was answered by a general laugh on that side, the tone of which left it somewhat doubtful whether it was in derision of the scheme, or whether it was to disguise the serious and uneasy humor, which this unexpected appeal inspired. I think it was partly the one, and partly the other. Mr. Holmes proceeded to say that the British government was watching with a keen eye the relations of this country with Mexico; and in accomplishing our purpose, we should have to contend steel to steel in a bloody fray. There was another thing. All the vagabonds and pirates of South America would take privateer commissions from Mexico, and pounce upon our commerce; and it would be of the utmost consequence to have a well-disciplined and powerful army to execute our purpose, secure possession, and finish the war before the freebooters would have time to sweep the seas. When a thing was undertaken, whether to maintain a right, or if they pleased, for territorial aggrandizement, he wanted to see it carried through, with an unflinching purpose, and a strong hand; and he recurred to the incomprehensible folly and madness of depriving the country at such a moment of the benefit of the military academy, and of the services of officers already graduated at that institution.

Mr. *Winthrop* rose, and commenced some observations on the strange and amazing avowal of the gentleman from South Carolina; but he was called to order by Mr. *Black*, of Georgia, the member who moved, sometime back, as an amendment to the Oregon bill, that Texas be annexed. The *Speaker* decided that Mr. Winthrop was in order; and he proceeded to say, that in view of the rumors, which were flying in every direction, the matter broached by the gentleman from South Carolina, assumed a momentous character. There was too much reason to fear that a secret and stealthy negotiation for the annexation of Texas to this Union, was actually going on. He did not rise to enter into an argument, but simply to declare that it was utterly abhorrent to the feelings of those he represented, and was big with danger to the stability of this Union. And if he thought that the military academy was to be made subservient, either now or hereafter, to the scheme referred to by the gentleman from South Carolina, he would go with the gentleman from New Hampshire, [Mr. Hale,] and level it to the ground.

There was great commotion in the House, and all attempts to take the question were unavailing. The committee rose, and the House voted by *yeas and nays* to adjourn. This subject is now considered to be fairly launched, and there is no doubt that it will be pursued. The opponents of annexation intend that the struggle shall come *now*, and its advocates show more willingness than was anticipated, to try conclusions at once. This crisis has been precipitated by the fact, now ascertained beyond reasonable doubt, that the late Secretary of State left a treaty of annexation in readiness for the signatures of the *low* contracting parties; and that a special envoy extraordinary from Texas is either on his way hither, or is actually *incog* in the city. It is certain that a letter addressed to him by a person in the confidence of the Texan executive, reached the city four days ago, under cover to a member of the House. The state in which it is now ascertained that Mr. Upshur left the negotiation, naturally connects itself with his long and earnest conversation with the Texan chargé on board the Princeton, and the marked and peculiar lamentation of the latter over the dead body. It was yesterday that the conviction first became general among the members of the House, that a treaty was actually prepared, as above mentioned. Then conversation, in a private way, became free. Annexation and *dissolution* were talked of without much reserve. Leading southern members, among whom were *Holmes*, of South Carolina, and *Payne*, of Alabama, did not scruple to say that the South wanted the Union *with Texas*; and if they could not have that, then *Texas without the Union*.

Before the meeting of Congress, it was predicted in the Standard that "the former nullifying party would push the annexation of Texas to the dissolution of the Union." In a subsequent number of the paper, under the head of "Politics of Anti-Slavery," the idea was developed as follows:

Some years ago, the Washington Globe said of Mr. Calhoun, that his ambition was so vast and reckless, that he was prepared to act out the sentiment of Satan:

"Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven."

De Witt Clinton uttered a more impartial but not less decisive testimony, when he declared his insuperable objection to him, for his "vaulting ambition." A most eminent statesmen, who is thoroughly conversant with Calhoun's political life and personal character, having been always associated with him in the House and the Senate, and a member of the latter at the time of the South Carolina nullification, and the projected secession of the Southwest—has repeatedly expressed the opinion that the nullifiers really intended to dissolve the Union, and to make their chief the head of a new confederacy. Since that period, the motives for undertaking such a revolution, have been multiplied and strengthened. At that time, no particular alarm existed for the safety of "Southern institutions." The British abolition act had not been passed, and there was but *one* (the New England) anti-slavery society in the United States, and one anti-slavery paper. In fact, the agitation of the subject of secession commenced sometime before either an abolition society or paper had an existence. The pro-slavery excitement at the South is more maddening than that of any merely constitutional or economical question ever was, or ever can be. Our southern brethren have not lynched or hung any of us for our *opinions* on the tariff, nor offered premiums for our heads for daring to think and speak freely on that subject. But the great, pressing, and decisive inducement to secession, at the present time, is the absolute *necessity*, to the slave-breeders, of the acquisition of Texas. This also is superadded to the former motives to secession. Then the Texas question had acquired comparatively little importance in the public eye; opposition had not developed itself, and was not much apprehended. Moreover, the government, obedient as usual to the demands of the slave-breeders, was noiselessly engaged in negotiating for the annexation, and was also engaged, with like silence and secrecy, in making assurance doubly sure, by organizing insurrection in Texas, and *private* invasion from the United States. Benton's essays, under the signature of "Americanus," (only *one* syllable of which name is he entitled to wear,) and the operations of General Jackson, Houston, and Butler, had filled the South with an overweening confidence that Texas would inevitably be theirs. Now, with the northern democratic press declaring against the project, and with pretty clear indications that a majority of them in Congress will not lend themselves to it, the South despairs of accomplishing this greatest and dearest object she has ever coveted since the assembling of the first Continental Congress.

In addition to the foregoing reasons for an opinion, we have held for years, there is another, less obvious to all, but deeply impressive. It has been a constant source of uneasiness to the southerners, to have their slaves surrounded by *forms* of civil liberty, which are at all times liable to drop a spark into the magazine over which they walk. A reverend divine, of South Carolina, in a sermon on slavery, a few years ago, recommended that the Declaration of Independence should not be read to the promiscuous assemblages of the fourth of July! It would undoubtedly be a sensible relief to the South to have a superstructure of government corresponding to the slave basis of society. There will always be among them a state of political *malaise*, until they obtain it. And why should they not strive to obtain it? If they really believe the Declaration of Independence a "rhetorical flourish," "a string of abstractions," and consequently, that our fathers based the revolution and the government on false and untenable ground, they owe it to themselves and to mankind to withdraw from it. Perhaps in that case they ought to make some reparation to the mother country, or find some new justification for our fathers, (which they themselves were not sagacious enough to discover,) and to proclaim it to the world.

I am no prophet, nor the son of a prophet; but I ought to understand something of the spirit and policy of the American slave oligarchy.

To-morrow we shall probably have a move which will test, in some degree, if not decisively, the sense of the House on this momentous question—in my humble opinion, not less momentous than that of the Declaration of Independence.

P. S. It is proper to add, that Mr. Holmes is supposed to be more in the secrets of "the White House," than any other member of the House of Representatives.

WASHINGTON, March 15, 1844.

It was generally expected that Mr. Adams would address the House to-day, on the memorial of certain members of the legislature of Rhode Island, and upon what is here called *Dorrism*; but the subject, which was allotted to the morning hour, was superseded by the West Point Academy bill. The proposition to abolish this was rejected by a majority of about two-thirds, and the appropriations for its support, passed. Mr. *Winthrop* moved to suspend the rules for the purpose of offering a resolution against the annexation of Texas. The House refused by a large majority to suspend the rules. Only forty, all whigs, except *R. D. Davis*, voted for the suspension, and upwards of one hundred and twenty against it. Only one Northern whig, (Mr. Fish, of N. Y.) voted against it. This result will probably be regarded by the annexationists as rather encouraging. I am, however, unwilling to consider it as in any considerable degree a test vote, though it must be confessed that it does indicate slightly the respective tendencies of the political parties. The Southern members exerted themselves earnestly to prevent the consideration of the subject, and succeeded by personal appeals in producing an impression that it was an imprudent movement; though this very exertion ought to have been convincing proof of the great importance they attached to it. Probably many Northern democrats voted against Mr. Winthrop's motion, flattering themselves that this cause for the disruption of party ties, may yet be prevented from assuming an aspect of serious practical importance. I think that they misjudge, and that what is merely incredulity, will be taken by the enemy to be vacillation and timidity, and so be construed, (as trifles light as air, in the present delicate state of things may,) into encouragment of this wicked and most perilous project. It cannot be disguised that this vote has created uneasiness in the friends of peace and freedom. They have no intention of letting the matter sleep. They will see that the people of the free States are forewarned, and if then they are not forearmed, it will be their own fault. It has been intimated to me, from a source not to be disregarded, that *Texas land scrip* is circulating freely in the city. Undoubtedly the rumors of an expected, or *ascertained* majority of two-thirds in the Senate have given a new impulse to speculation in Texan lands. I do not think that there is *such* a majority in the Senate in favor of annexation, but I do suppose that there is an absolute majority. I have not yet heard of any Senators from the free States, who are considered to be in favor of it, except *Atherton* and *Woodbury*, of New Hampshire; *Allen*, of Ohio; *Hannegan*, of Indiana; and *Semple* and *Breese*, of Illinois. On the other hand, *Crittenden* and *Morehead*, of Kentucky, are confidently said to be opposed. *Reeves*, of Virginia, is non-committal. Mr. *Rhett*, of South Carolina, has affirmed that Mr. *Van Buren* favors the wishes of the South, while letters are reported to have been received from Mr. *Clay*, within a few days, declaring himself decidedly opposed to the scheme, in any and every shape. I think it probable that its friends expect to be defeated at the *first* trial in the Senate, and that they intend, in that event, to carry the question to the polls, in the approaching presidential election, making, it as far as possible, a party question. A person connected with Mr. Tyler's organ—the *Madisonian*, has stated that the administration is already sure of a two-thirds vote in the Senate. I think it proper to mention these reports, because it is possible that reports and rumors may be all that we shall have until the event is upon us. There is one thing which I feel entire confidence in stating, and that is that annexation, if it does take place, will involve us in war with *Great Britain* as well as Mexico. There is at this time an unusual concentration of vessels of war at Norfolk, in Virginia. Gen. Henderson, the Texan special envoy, is not yet *known* to have arrived in Washington. There is something singular in this. The Galveston papers announced his arrival there from the seat of government, but added, that he was to embark for some Texan port, *west* of that place. On the other hand, letters received here, announced his mission to Washington, and, as I have before stated, letters have reached the city addressed to him!

WASHINGTON, March 17, 1844.

I presume you remember *Hogan*, the arch-hypocrite, who obtained admission into the families, and to some extent into the confidence of abolitionists, in Boston, first professing to wish for light on the subject of slavery, and finally, by declaring that their facts and arguments were unanswerable, that he was convinced, and was determined to emancipate his slaves. You will recollect, also, that he obtained letters of introduction from them to abolition friends in New-York, professing an intention to proceed to Georgia, for the purpose, among other things, of emancipating his slaves; and that we were afterwards informed, that on his arrival in Georgia, instead of emancipating any, he sold one or more of them, and was in the habit of *eating*, (as his runaway slave expressed it,) one or two negroes every year.

This person was announced, a few months ago, as having been appointed consul for some port in the island of Cuba. He did not, however, proceed to his post, but remained, to be employed by Tyler in a more important and very peculiar service. He went to Mexico, as the secret and confidential agent of the President of the United States. In that country, he passed himself as a *Catholic*, having formerly been a priest of that persuasion, but excommunicated some years ago. He also represented himself to be one of the *New England abolitionists*, and probably made use of the letters above mentioned, as credentials in that character. He succeeded, completely, in gaining the confidence of Mexicans, official and private, priests and laymen, and obtained the information, so far as it existed, which his illustrious employer desired. The object was to find out the intentions and preparations of the Mexican government, in respect to Texas; and, above all, what had passed, or what was passing, between the Mexican and British governments, on that subject. About a week ago he arrived, on his return, and is now in this city. You may judge from this little narrative, what sort of agents and means the President of the United States is capable of employing, to effect this nefarious purpose. My opinion is, that John Tyler, if he succeeds in this daring scheme, will be *elected* President of the United States, and thus wipe off the reproach, at which he has been so much disturbed, of *accidency*.

I have good reason to believe that the treaty of annexation will be submitted this very week. There are fifty-one senators present; only one—Mr. *Niles*, of Connecticut—being now absent. I think there are about thirty in favor of annexation, and of course about twenty-one opposed to it. *Two-thirds* is thirty-four; consequently, no great change is required to consummate the detestable deed. Still, I have faith that the treaty will be rejected, and that the question will be ultimately decided at the polls in the next presidential election.—D. L. C.

ERRATA.

We crave the mercy of our benevolent readers, for typographical errors in the last Standard. It is difficult to avoid them, when the editor is deprived of the opportunity of looking over the proof-sheets.

In the editorial, for "Nero's power of reducing all the necks in Rome to one," read "Nero's notion," &c.; for "flounting," read *flaunting*. In the introduction to "Letter from Washington," for "circumstances and rationale bearings," read "circumstances, *rationale* and bearings." In journal of Congress, for "Johnson, of Tennessee," read Johnson, of Louisiana; for "Mr. Achilles," read *Achilles*; "*Stetson*," italicised as a *whig*, in the first analysis of votes on the gag, should have been in roman, Stetson; as a democrat, making the *nays* 45, instead of 46 northern whigs—and 56, instead of 55 northern democrats; "Stephens" should have been italicised as a whig. In the second analysis, Deberry, Rayner, Clinch, and Stephens, should have been italicised as *whigs*. A *correction* is to be made in the closing remarks on these analyses. It was stated that two northern *whigs*, *Sample* and *Hardin*, were absent. Only one northern whig, *Hardin*, was among the missing. It should have been added, that C. J. Ingersoll, who was absent at the first vote, came in with Duncan, and St. John, at the second, and contributed to reverse the vote; and further, that J. W. Davis, of Indiana, who had declared himself, in the House, converted to Mr. Adams's doctrine on the right of petition, and had, on that account, offered to resign his seat in the committee on the "21st rule," did, on the final vote to lay on the table, *first* vote against it; and when the roll was called through, and it was ascertained how the vote stood, he, together with Duncan, of Ohio, and Yost, of Pennsylvania, changed their votes from *nay* to *yea*—making, by this means, a final majority of *one* in favor of the gag.

Having reason to believe that much good has been done by accurate and perspicuous analytical statements of votes, we feel anxious that no error should lesson their utility.

THE COMPLAINT OF MEXICO.

A pamphlet under this title, written with great ability, and in an elevated moral tone that cannot fail to delight every friend of his country and of his race, who may read it, has reached us from Boston. It is mainly occupied with an examination of Mr. Webster's letter to the Mexican Secretary of State, in defense of the conduct of our government in relation to the revolt of Texas. We intended to give extracts from it, but having sent our copy immediately to Mexico, where, we doubt not, it will be received with pleasure and gratitude, we are unable for the present to gratify our readers with a specimen of its contents.

LETTERS OF MARTHA SMITH.—This is an excellent little book, written with much intelligence, and pervaded by the true spirit of Christian love. The letters are accompanied by a brief but interesting memoir of the writer, who was an eloquent preacher in the Society of Friends. Though of a tender and humble spirit, she was much persecuted by them, for her zeal in the anti-slavery cause. This very pleasant and instructive little volume is for sale at our office. Price, 37 1-2 cents.

ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.—The resolutions appended to the spirited report of the Massachusetts legislature, on our first page, were adopted, almost unanimously, by the Senate and the House.

Anti-Slavery Items.

MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.—IN THE HOUSE.

Among a number of petitions presented, were two in regard to the Massachusetts resolves on the subject of slavery, asking that our senators in Congress may be instructed to defend the resolves as becomes the commonwealth of Massachusetts, or else resign their seats. One was from citizens of Cambridge, as follows:

"*To the Honorable Senate and House &c. your memorialists respectfully represent*—

"That there is great dissatisfaction among the people with regard to the manner in which the legislative resolves for amending the federal constitution were received and disposed of by the Senate of the United States, and a wide-spread impression that our own senators did not exhibit the proper spirit, or duly maintain the honor of Mass

the rule of the House of Representatives, (now designated as the 21st rule of that body,) which prohibits the reception of petitions for the abolition of slavery, is a direct violation of the sacred right of petition, odiously despotic in its character, and a dangerous infraction of the Constitution of the United States.

The question of consideration was carried by a vote of 58 to 44. Mr. Jeremiah moved the reference of the resolution to a select committee. Lost; ayes 49, noes 52. Mr. L. Lee, of Orange, moved their indefinite postponement. Lost again, 67 to 30. The above resolution was then adopted: Yeas 56, nays 44, all locos. The third resolution was as follows:

Resolved, (the honorable the Senate concurring) That the representatives in Congress from this State be requested to use their utmost exertions to procure the repeal of said rule.

Adopted: yeas 54, nays 45.

The speaker (Hoffman) now decided that these resolutions were not finally adopted, but must be engrossed and read a third time next day! No matter: they have been passed, and the world will see that no loco-foco drill can stifle the expression of the deliberate, decided opinion of New-York on this subject so vital to the cause of freedom.—*New-York Tribune.*

ANTI-SLAVERY MISSIONS.—Lewis Tappan, in the Journal of Commerce, acknowledges the receipt of *one thousand dollars* from a "A Friend" in New Haven, Ct. to extend the circulation of anti-slavery missions, and for the support of missions who do not receive aid from boards that fellowship *slaveholders as Christians.*

A RELIC OF OLD TIMES.—Slaves were once held in Boston, the city of the Puritans. It did not take them till 1844 to find out that slavery was not a blessing. They soon learned that slavery was the direct antagonist of their free principles and institutions; such a conclusion was self-evident: and so, when they adopted a State Constitution formed on the basis of the Declaration of Independence, the courts decided that their Constitution destroyed slavery. About one hundred years ago, in 1742, Thomas Fleet, a Boston printer, published in his paper, the following advertisement:

"*A negro woman to be sold by the printer of this paper.* The very best negro woman in this town, who has had the small pox, and measles, and is as hearty as a horse, as brisk as a bird, and works like a beaver."

Congress.

SENATE, THURSDAY, March 7.

Mr. Archer presented resolutions of the Virginia legislature, in answer to those of Massachusetts, on the *slave representation.* Mr. A. moved that they be printed, and also those of Massachusetts.

Mr. Bagby wished the motion to lie on the table, stating that it was his intention to introduce to-morrow resolutions on the subject.

Mr. Miller, of New Jersey, spoke on the Oregon question, deprecating the prosecution of the projects of occupation, fortification, wild adventure, and war. When the northeastern boundary was under negotiation, a senator from Maine had introduced a resolution recommending to the President to take possession of the disputed territory, but only *eight* senators were in favor of it. Had this been adopted, we should have had a destructive war, instead of an amicable s[illegible]ment, satisfactory and honorable to both nations.

Mr. Tappan objected to thu[illegible]roceeding which had been in secret session.

The *President* reminded him that the injunction of secrecy had been removed.

Mr. Miller said the bill proposed that the government should offer 640 acres of land to every settler, and 160 to every wife and child, when the government did not own a foot of land in Oregon. It all belonged to the Indians, and where were the Indians to go? Into the Pacific, or to be pushed back this side of the Rocky mountains, to conflict, to their mutual and final extinction, with those we had driven from this side of the Mississippi?

FRIDAY, March 8.

Mr. *Buchanan* presented a memorial from numerous citizens of Pennsylvania, setting forth the astonishing results of the tariff of 1842, and asking that it may not be altered, until it be proved to act injuriously.

Also, from citizens of Pennsylvania, asking such an amendment to the Constitution and laws as to embrace the provisions of the Mosaic law, as found in the 15th and 16th verses of the 23d chapter of the book of Deuteronomy.

[This petition seemed to embarrass the *non-receptionists*, at first. They appeared to be at fault as to the possible extent and bearing of the document. They did not know but it was a *Trojan horse.* At length, Mr. *King*, of Alabama, moved that the question of reception be laid on the table, and it was so.]

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, TUESDAY, March 5.

The bill for reparing and paving Pennsylvania Avenue, was laid on the table.

A message was communicated from the President on the subject of the demand made upon the British authorities of Nassau, New Providence, for the surrender of *fugitive slaves*, charged with robbery and murder in Florida. The message was accompanied by correspondence between the marshall of Florida, sent by the President to make the demand, and the governor of New Providence, together with the indictment on which the slaves were claimed, and the decision of the judges upon the requisition.

Mr. *Levy*, of Florida, moved that the communication be referred to the committee on foreign affairs, with the following instructions:

"To make inquiry into the facts of any cases of demand for surrender of fugitive criminals, under the tenth article of the treaty of Washington, which may have arisen upon requisition of either of the respective parties to said treaty, and to recommend such course as may be proper for the adoption of this House in respect thereto; and especially whether it be advisable for this House to recommend to the President to notify the British government, that it is the wish of this government to terminate the said tenth article of the treaty."

Mr. Levy addressed the House during his hour. He said the subject was most important to the territory he represented, and to the nation as involving our relations with our great enemy. It would be a test of the feeling of nationality, which bound this Union together. It would afford an opportunity to see whether gentlemen from other than the southern section, professing liberal and national sentiments, in respect to a *certain section*, and to a *certain* interest.

The 11th article of the Ashburton treaty provided that the 10th article should cease to be in force whenever either should wish to terminate it. The House had often interfered by recommendations to the executive in the management of our foreign relations. In 1828 they passed resolutions requesting the President to institute negotiations with Great Britain, for the surrender of *fugitive slaves.*

[It is pleasant to have such facts recalled, because they afford palpable and encouraging proof of progress. There is not a slaveholder in Congress, nor the country, who would now venture to offer such a resolution.]

The British government always acted, in its dealings with us, with duplicity, treachery, and ill-faith. He referred to the John Henry plot, and to the promptness, and good faith which Jonathan Robins, and Christiana Gilmour, had been given up by us under the present treaty, and a former one. Lord Ashburton had not left this country, after completing the treaty, before he gave to the *abolitionists* of New-York, a treacherous interpretation of it. He told them that a slave in doing anything to facilitate his escape, would not come within the treaty.

In the British parliament, on the first introduction of the bill necessary to give operation to this clause of the treaty, that Lord Ashburton declared that he "could assure their lordships, that there was no part of the treaty which had received their lordships approbation, that he looked to with more anxiety, than its possible operation on the condition of slavery." And Lord Aberdeen declaring that, "not only was a fugitive slave guilty of no crime in endeavoring to escape from a state of bondage, but he was entitled to the sympathy and encouragement of all those who were animated by Christian feelings."

This was by Lord Aberdeen, (continued Mr. L.) on the first introduction of the bill to carry into effect this clause. Gentlemen laughed; but this was but an introduction to the evidence of their ill-faith. He should go on to show that when the bill came into discussion in the house of commons, it had there been declared by the attorney general, speaking upon the authority, and as the agent of the government, that, "in the case of the Creole, it was the opinion of the law officers of the government, that according to our law, it could not for a moment be permitted that the slaves should be restored. They were as safe in the Bahama Islands, as they would be in the Exchange; and whatever were the consequences, her majesty's ministers were prepared to act up to the law. He thought he might pledge the government to the declaration that on any similar occasion they would pursue a similar course."

This was not a question of surrender of fugitive *slaves*, but of fugitive pirates and murderers. The article for the extradition of fugitive criminals was introduced in consequence of the *enormity of the Creole case.* It was so intended on our part, so understood by the Senate and the South, and it was so understood in England.

Mr. L. read a passage in the *Quarterly Review*, showing that the writer, (who he said might almost be considered as speaking by authority,) so understood it.—He then read extracts from speeches in parliament, to show the premeditated injury, insult, and-ill faith, which the British had committed in this matter, against the United States.

Mr. L. also read from Lord Palmerston, as follows: "In no case where a slave was charged with the offense of murder or robbery, would any English magistrate be justified in delivering him up for trial, unless the offense he was charged with was one that was looked on as a murder or robbery by the law of England; and he apprehended that any act that a slave might commit, in resisting the coercion of his master, could not amount to murder, and would not justify a magistrate in giving up the fugitive."

Lord Stanley, who was a member of the cabinet, (continued Mr. L.) and who spoke by authority, said: "No fugitive could, under the treaty, be surrendered as a murderer, unless his offense were such as our laws would qualify with that epithet. He did not hesitate to say that, in point of reciprocity, this treaty was of infinitely greater advantage to the people of Canada, than to those of the United States."

And he had gone on to say that if they found the operation of this article unfavorable to the slave population of this country, it was in the power of Great Britain to bring it to an end, at any time. It was more favorable to the people of Canada, said Lord Stanley, than to the people of the United States! Because, while on their part they would exclude from its operation a very large part of the people of this country capable of committing crimes dangerous to our safety; on our part, we, good, innocent, and easy people, were to deliver up to them whoever they considered dangerous offenders to their country.

This was not all. In this very case, the secretary of an anti-slavery society in London had addressed Lord Aberdeen in behalf of the pirates and murderers; and he, instead of rebuking, as a highminded and honorable minister should, tamely replied, in writing, that the government would pay the utmost attentton to the case, and do what duty might require: thus encouraging the fanatical spirit of these associations, and cherishing the idea that the British government would violate its treaty obligations, and secure impunity to pirates and murderers, *because they were slaves!* [Mr. L. delivered this part of his speech with great vehemence; but no portion of the House seemed to be much moved. There was a quiet smile on the lips of the abolitionists, as much as to say, it is but fair play that the poor slave should have privileges, after so much injustice and suffering. Every *dog* has his day.]

Mr. L. concluded by stating the case of the Florida fugitives, which had given rise to this correspondence. This was substantially as it has been told in the newspapers, except that he added that they stripped two little children stark-naked, and carried off their clothes.

[I thought Mr. L. was going on to say that the negroes committed that species of crime, which *white slave-traders habitually* commit on children under *ten* years of age, and which the chivalrous Texans committed on little girls, of *six*, at Mier, in Mexico; but he did not suggest that these slaves were so brutal.]

The man killed, in addition to this stripping of little children, was the father of them, a Mr. Geeren, of New-York. He was murdered while in pursuit of the robbers.

The evidence carried over was, first, a requisition legally made, next an indictment, legally found and authenticated against each of these fugitives for murder and for robbery, (both which offenses were included within the provisions of the treaty,) an authenticated copy of a warrant against these fegitives upon this indictment, and two respectable and responsible witnesses to identify the criminals. Now, what did good faith require upon that state of facts? If it was even doubted by the British minister whether it were sufficient, and abundantly sufficient, to justify the delivery, it was sufficient, if they had intended to observe good faith, to have justified their arrest until further evidence, if deemed necessary, could be sent for. But, on the contrary, so far from arresting, or attempting to arrest them, and to give effect to this provision of the treaty, a public meeting was permitted to be held, under the very nose of the court, consisting of three or four thousand persons, passing resolutions, in which it was declared, if the British authority attempted to surrender these criminals, the attempt should be resisted by open force. Well, the court, yielding to the suggestions contained in the deliberations in parliament, came to a decision, in which it was said:

"An indictment *per se* can never be received as evidence. It is not enough for us to know that the American jury thought the parties guilty; we ought to know the *grounds* upon which they thought them guilty. What may constitute the crime of murder in Florida, may be very far from doing so according to the British laws, or even to the laws of the northern States of America. By issuing a warrant, then, to apprehend the parties in virtue of these indictments, we might be doing so on evidence which would not justify the apprehension by true British law, and should thereby be proceeding in direct violation of the act."

There were two points in this decision material to be considered, to wit, that the indictment *per se* could not be considered as evidence for the arrest and commitment; and, second, that the British courts have the right to measure by their own laws the criminality of these acts. On both these points he took issue; and, notwithstanding he knew that some gentlemen of both political parties, and from both sections of the country, had justified them, in his humble way he was prepared to dispute the correctness of this interpretation, and to declare that, in case it were the interpretation, there was more reason to conclude that there was treachery in the making of this treaty, and that the dignity of this nation required an immediate abrogation of it.

Mr. L. was cut short by the *hour rule.*

Mr. Cave Johnson immediately called the previous question, and the message and instructions were referred to the committee on foreign relations.

Mr. *Reding*, of New Hampshire, moved to print the message.

Mr. Giddings now obtained the floor; and in the midst of considerable noise and confusion, (though not near as much as occurred last year, whenever he rose on the same subject,) proceeded to say that he was sorry to see a disposition to suppress debate in relation to slavery, on the part of the very members who were constantly thrusting the subject upon the House! He held in execration the man who first brought slavery into this hall of the free. Accursed, said Mr. G. be his memory. The House and the country would bear him witness that he had never done it. He had never obstructed the proper business of this House, by bringing in a subject with which the House had no right to interfere. His doctrine was, and always had been, that there is no constitutional power in this government to interfere with slavery; but it was perpetually thrust upon him and his constituents, by those who would interfere with it *to support it.* Slavery existed only by local law, and the moment it passed the line of slave jurisdiction, it ceased, and the slave stood up with all the attributes of a man. His views on this point had been expressed in the Creole case, and were before the country.

Mr. Dellet, of Alabama, called Mr. G. to order.

The *Speaker* decided that Mr. G. was in order, although he [the Speaker] did not know the contents of the message, and could not tell whether these remarks were relevant or not.

After some skirmishing, the message was read, and the Speaker then decided that Mr. Giddings's remarks were not within the proper range of the question.

Mr. Giddings would then drop the subject, and speak of the documents now to be printed. He said they showed that the grounds on which the British authorities had put their refusal were, 1st. An utter absence of proof of identity. They had no evidence that the men, who committed what was charged in the indictment, were or had ever been in the island of New Providence. 2d. The British authorities had no evidence that the killing, if committed, was murder. They had not a particle of evidence that any crime had been committed against the laws of the United States; and if there were, no attempt had been made to prove the identity of the persons committing it with any persons within British jurisdiction.

Mr. Tucker, of Mississippi, here called Mr. Giddings again to order, on the ground of irrelevancy.

But the *Chair* overruled the objection on the same ground he had before stated.

Mr. Giddings hoped the gentleman would not be more captious than the gentleman from Florida himself, (Mr. Levy,) who had made no such objection. He did not understand these personal distinctions on that floor—he stood upon his rights—and he looked with no allowance of gentlemanly conduct to those who thus interfered with them. He had been insisting that here was a total want of testimony. No proof existed that these colored men had even taken the life of the man slain; or whether, if they did take it, they did so feloniously, or in self-defense. If it was merely in self-defense, they were guilty of no crime. If any man had undertaken to stop them on their way, without legal warrant, they had a perfect right to defend themselves. There was nothing intervening to connect the death of the man, and the demand to deliver up these individuals. If Mr. G. should be returning from his duties here to his residence in Ohio, and he should be unlawfully stopped on his way, by men who attempted violence on his person, he should have a right to defend himself. And so in this case. These persons, whatever their color, were men; and, as such, surrounded by all the rights of manhood; and he cared not who they were who attempted to interfere with those rights. Mr. G. placed no character upon them—he had given them no epithet—he had said they were men, and those who interfered with their right of locomotion, did it at their peril, and could not claim the shield of the government's protection. Thank God they could not, and he hoped they never would have such claim allowed. If gentlemen went in search of such a law as would justify the restraint upon their rights as men, they must not look for it to the government of the United States, but must descend to the local legislation of the State governments. He meant to tell gentlemen, emphatically, that these persons were *men*—they were MEN, and had a right, by the laws of God, and of the United States, to defend their liberty to go whithersoever they pleased.

Mr. Pettit, of Indiana, thought that there was no evidence before the English judges that would have justified the surrender of the men. They had not pronounced a naked refusal, but simply that the evidence offered was insufficient. He hoped the article would not be abrogated. It was a wholesome one, enabling us to pursue and bring to condign punishment public robbers, of which there had been thousands. He would to God we had such a treaty with every nation upon earth. Mr. P. hoped the papers would not be printed.

Mr. Adams supposed that the committee on foreign relations would feel bound to report upon this subject, (which he presumed they would regard as not very unimportant,) and then the whole subject would be discussed. The question was not merely as to a difference of opinion between the officer making a demand for the surrender of these colored people and the courts of the British Island of New Providence; but from the speech of the delegate from Florida, it was apparent that that gentleman at least differed *toto cælo* from that court, as to the entire meaning of this tenth article of the treaty. The gentleman differed not only from the judges of that island, but Mr. A. would venture to say, from every lawyer in the realm of Great Britain. Mr. A. would not inquire with what degree of good faith the individuals who signed the treaty, had signed this particular article of it, nor how it was understood by the Senate, who ratified the treaty with this article in it; or by the House, which had voted by a large majority to carry the treaty into execution; or by the British parliament. For himself, Mr. A. said he understood it precisely as it had been understood by the British authorities. He did not think it bound that nation to do any other than she had done. There had in this case been no violation of the treaty at all. The courts of New Providence refused to deliver up these men as demanded, not only because there was no evidence exhibited to support the charge against them, but on the great principles involved. Gentlemen never would get the government of Great Britain to interpret this article as the gentleman from Florida interpreted it. And Mr. A. trusted in God they would never get our government so to interpret it. He hoped the gentleman who had objected to the printing of the message, would withdraw his objection. Almost all presidential messages were printed. It was the constant practice, with, he believed, scarce an exception. In the last Congress, (when the House and the President of the United States had not been on the best possible terms,) there had been a motion made not to print one of his messages, but the refusal did not prevail. It was considered disrespectful to a co-ordinate branch of the government. (Mr. A. did not suppose, however, that any such disrespect was intended, in the present case.) He hoped the message, and every line of every document accompanying it, would be printed, and would go to the people, and let them make up their own mind upon the matter. There had been, in some quarters, indications that the article meant a totally different thing than its language would convey; and the gentleman had indulged himself in a great many very angry charges against Great Britain, because her government would not understand the article as he did.

Mr. A. said he was not the defender of the British government, and never intended to be her defender *per se*, [a laugh,] but when questions implicating peace and war came to be considered, let who would join in the slanders uttered against that government, he never would. There was ill humor enough already, and far too much, between not only the two nations, but the people of the nations. Appeals were constantly made to the most bitter and rancorous passions of the human breast, and that for reasons which Mr. A. did not approve. And he regretted to see that the same course was pursued on the other side of the water. Mr. A. here referred to an article in the Intelligencer, which detailed much of the language employed in England and Ireland in regard to this country. He had read these details, he would not say with disgust and horror, but certainly with great pain. They were in a tone precisely corresponding with much that was urged here. And when two nations, such as England and ourselves, got out of temper with each other, it required but little to bring them to blows. And what were blows between two such nations? If the question of peace or war, abstractly, were put to each man in the community, he would say at once he was a man of peace, that he deprecated war as a great evil; but—sting, sting—spur, spur—connect all this with a refusal to deliver up runaways, and with our title to Oregon, or with the all-glorious subject of the annexation of Texas—and then men's passions began to burn like mines of sulphur. He hoped the gentleman would withdraw his objections to the motion to print.

The printing was ordered.

WEDNESDAY, March, 6.

M. Tilden, of Ohio, presented the petition of Benjamin Parker and others, praying for an amendment of the Constitution, so as to make the basis of representation uniform throughout the country.

An attempt was made by *Mr. Jameson*, of Missouri, to appoint more *folders of documents*, for the service of the House. This after a great deal of skirmishing and confusion, was laid on the table.

[This was designed to increase, at the expense of the nation, the facilities of circulating every false, libellous, or inflammatory pamphlet, or newspaper which any member of the House may think proper to write or patronize. Tens of thousands of *Walker's pamphlets*, in favor of the annexation of Texas, and 6000 of *Amos Kendall's* "tract, No. 1," on *Clay's duels*, have been lately folded and despatched at the national charge. I care not how much duelling is denounced, but I heard a southern member say, "*These* are for the *East*. They must not go *South*, they would *help* him *there*."]

The *Speaker* laid before the House a letter from Mr. SAMUEL BEARDSLEY, resigning his seat in this House as a representative from the State of New-York.

Mr. Dromgoole asked leave to present certain joint resolutions of the legislature of Virginia, unanimously adopted, responding (he said,) to the resolutions of the legislature of Massachusetts, heretofore presented. The resolution responded to, and dissented from, the proposition of amendment of the Constitution contained in the Massachusetts resolutions.

Mr. D. moved the reference of the resolutions to a select committee of nine members.

The reading of the resolutions was called for, and they were read as follows:

The governor of this commonwealth having, in his last annual message, communicated to the general assembly the resolutions of the general assembly of the State of Massachusetts, adopted March 23, 1843, and having this day communicated the resolutions of the same body, passed on the 15th and 17th of January, 1844, all of said resolutions proposing to amend the Constitution of the United States so as to apportion representation and taxation among the several States according to their respective numbers of free persons, excluding Indians not taxed; of which resolutions it is proper that this assembly should take some notice.

It is well known that the recognition and protection of the peculiar interests of the slaveholding States, by making the slaves a part of the basis of representation and taxation in the federal government, was a compromise upon which the federal Union of the States was formed, was acknowledged by Massachusetts in convention as the language of all America, adopted in the federal convention by a vote almost unanimous, and is essential to the peace, welfare, and continuance of the slaveholding States in this Union: Therefore,

Resolved unanimously by the General Assembly of Virginia:

1. That we cannot regard these resolutions as in truth a proposition to amend the federal Constitution, but virtually one to dissolve this Union.

2. That, while we have forborne the expression of complaint at the disturbance of the peace and safety of the South, by the agitation of the subject of our peculiar domestic institutions by individuals and voluntary societies at the North, we regard this attack by the highest constitutional authority of a sister State, as in the highest degree unjust, unkind, faithless to the compromises of the Constitution, and meriting the deepest condemnation of every patriot and friend of the Union.

3. That when we look back to those periods of our history when Massachusetts and Virginia co-operated so cordially, zealously, and effectively in achieving our independence, and securing it by the adoption of our federal Constitution, we cannot but regard this attack with increased regret and abhorrence.

4. That the governor of this commonwealth be, and he is hereby requested to communicate copies of the foregoing preamble and resolutions, to the governors of the several States, with the request that they may be laid before their respective legislatures; to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from Virginia; and especially to return the original resolutions to the governor of Massachusetts.

Adopted by the General Assembly, February 15, 1844.

G. W. MUNFORD,
Clerk of the House of Delegates.

Mr. Winthrop made an effort to refer the Massachusetts resolutions with these but it failed, and the motion of Mr. Dromgoole prevailed; *yeas* 128, *nays* 34.

The rest of the day was occupied by a speech on the whig campaign of 1840, by *Dr. Duncan* of Ohio, *coons, log cabins,* and *cider.* The ostensible subject was a bill for fixing *one* day for the election of presidential electors in all the States.

THURSDAY, March 7.

Mr. Milton Brown moved to instruct the military committee to report to the House, whether a communication had been received from *Major-General Scott*, on the bill for dividing the United States into two military districts. It appeared by the conversation which ensued, that such a communication had been received, and also one from *General Gaines*, and that there was a controversy between the two generals; the House refused to give the instruction.

A motion was made by *Mr. Burke*, of New Hampshire, to give the select committee on the memorial of certain members of the legislature of Rhode Island, power to send for persons and papers. This was objected to, as an opening for an unlimited expenditure, in bringing to Washington, at three dollars a day, and travelling expenses, all the discontented patriots of Rhode Island.

Mr. Causin, of Maryland, asked *cui bono?* Mr. Cranston, of Rhode Island, said he was in possession of evidence that would satisfy Mr. Burke.

Mr. Clingman spoke in reply to Mr. Duncan on the electoral bill. This speech like the Doctor's, was a genuine specimen of slang-whang.

[This subject seems to give rise to a general, and continued skirmishing in the same style and spirit. This is to be the *President-making debate.* The charge of *abolitionism*, was made and retorted. Mr. Clingman classed *Mr. Garrison*, and Joshua Leavitt as loco-focos. This is about as near the truth as the party zealots here usually get, or wish to.]

The bill for the support of the West Point Academy was taken up. A substitute abolishing the Academy was offered by *Mr. Hall*, of New Hampshire. Mr. Hunt, of New-York, ob-tained the floor.

FRIDAY, March 8.

Mr. Cranston addressed the House upon the *Rhode Island memorial* and *Dorrism. Mr. Rathbun*, of N.ew-York, replied and expatiated upon *Algerineism.*

The morning hour having expired, *Mr. McKay* from the committee of ways and means reported a new *tariff bill*, which was referred to the committee of the whole, and ordered to be printed.

[This bill proposes to make the maximum duty 30 per cent.; to abolish specific duties, and make reductions on many important articles, to 20 per cent. and under. It is well understood that this bill cannot pass the Senate, but it is said to be brought in, and will pass the House, to propitiate the slaveholders and obtain their support for Mr. Van Buren. The northern democrats expect to effect this object by voting for the bill, and that the Senate will reject the bill, and prevent them from ruining their constituents! But suppose the Senate should take them at their word! "The southern whigs have done it." The gag rule is retained, and the *New-York* legislature has given the *go by* to resolutions condemning it. Our readers will please to compare these transactions with the conditions of southern support for Van Buren prescribed in the extract from Calhoun's address in a late standard.]

National courtesy.—Mr. Marsh, from the committee on Naval Affairs, reported the following, which was unanimously adopted:

JOINT RESOLUTION of the thanks of Congress to the British authorities at Gibraltar, and the commander, officers, and crew of her Britannic majesty's ship Malabar.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be requested to communicate to the British government, in such manner as he may deem proper, the high sense entertained by Congress of the generous zeal displayed by the British authorities at Gibraltar, and the commander, officers, and crew of her Britannic majesty's ship Malabar, in endeavoring to save from destruction the American steam frigate Missouri, and in preserving the lives of her officers and crew, as well as of the kindness and hospitality which characterized their treatment of the ship's company of that vessel after her unfortunate destruction by fire.

SATURDAY, March 9.

Mr. Rathbun continued his reply to Mr. Cranston, and adverting to the grounds of the complaints of the twenty-six members respecting the old charter, stated that it put all power into the hands of *one-third* of the people.

[I could not but reflect upon the political chaos, which was before me, 6,0000 pamphlets are paid for, franked and sent off by *duellists* against duelling! Mr. Rathbun was now appealing to southern *democrats* to come to the aid of the Dorrites, because one-third of the people under the *old* charter had all the power. What an argument for Virginians, where none but freeholders, or the leaseholders, of the *towns* and *cities* can vote! what an argument for South Carolinians, where a man, to be a representative in the legislature, must own *ten other men*, and where much less than one-third of the white people have a majority of the legislature! In Virginia about the same minority of the whites, have a majority in the legislature. Yet the Virginia, and South Carolina members, countenance the Rhode Island memorialists!

Married,

On the 7th instant, by Friends' ceremony, JOSIAH H. LIPPENCOTT, to ANNA, daughter of David C. Ogden, esq. all of Gloucester county, New Jersey.

Died.

In Buffalo, the 28th ultimo, after a severe and protracted illness of nearly a year, terminating in consumption, FANNY W. wife of Joseph W. Brown, in the 43d year of her age. The fortitude and resignation she manifested during her long confinement, has left no room to doubt but that her close was triumphant. Her many acts of kindness, together with her sympathy for the down-trodden and oppressed, had endeared her to an extensive circle of friends, and in her death society is bereft of one of its brightest ornaments.

At Port Carbon, Schuylkill county, Pa. on the 25th of February, CHARLES SINUS, a most worthy and kind-hearted man. He was a fugitive from slavery, and always ready to contribute of his hard earnings for the deliverance of those still in bondage. On such occasions, he used to say to anti-slavery agents, "The more I give, the better I feel." He was much respected, and deserved to be so; yet it was difficult to obtain a share of the burying-ground to deposit his remains; so savage and unrelenting is the prejudice against color!

At Pleasantville, on the 13th instant, of dropsy on the brain, JOHN J. only child of Moses and Esther Carpenter Pierce; aged two years and ten months.

He was an uncommonly interesting and amiable child. During the earlier part of his sickness, this dear little innocent, suffered much from pain and convulsions; and the patience he manifested, rendered him doubly dear to his heart-stricken parents. He afterwards became much less sensible of his sufferings, and in this state, passed quietly away, into the arms of angels.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

General Items.

Slave-Trade.—This abominable traffic is prosecuted with activity between Africa and the island of Cuba. A letter from Havana, of the 25th ultimo, published in the New Orleans Bee, says:

"A ship arrived on the coast last week, with upwards of one thousand negroes; and it is said that $13,000 was paid to the captain-general, so as to allow the landing of them."

A Slave Shot.—The Plaquemine (La.) Gazette states that on the night of Sunday, the 17th ultimo, a GIRL, belonging to Mr. Joseph Schlatre, was SHOT, while endeavoring to escape from a man who ordered her to stop. She was in company with three or four other runaways. The person who shot her, first tried to stop her, by firing at her with fine shot, which did not injure her materially; and as she still continued to run, he BROUGHT HER DOWN WITH A CHARGE OF BUCKSHOT!

Fruits of Slavery.—On the 20th ultimo, a Mr. John Bell, of Alexandria, La. discharged a pistol loaded with buckshot, at a negro wench, named Leese, who struck him on the head with an iron poker, and shot her in the side. Bell was held to bail in the sum of two thousand dollars, for his appearance next day.—*New Orleans Picayune, March* 1.

Sentence Commuted.—John L. Brown, the young man sentenced to death in April next, for running away with a quadroon slave with whom he was enamored, has been pardoned by the governor of South Carolina. He is, however, to be *publicly whipped!—Aurora.*

Hayti.—It is reported that there has been some difficulty near St. Marks, between the people and the soldiers. The people in the Spanish part of the island are not satisfied with the new constitution. The old animosity between the blacks and the mulattoes is said to have much to do with it. Some of the blacks had fled, leaving their possessions behind. President Herard is generally popular; and it is supposed that tranquillity will soon be restored.

Parliament.—Lord Morpeth has been returned to parliament, for the borough of Morpeth, in the room of the Hon. Capt. Howard, who retires in favor of his brother.

General Bertrand.—This devoted friend of Napoleon died in his native town, soon after his return from the United States. It is proposed to bury him beside Napoleon.

Steamboat Disasters.—The steamers De Soto and Buckeye came in collision in what is called Old river, just below Atchafalaya, and that the latter boat was sunk to her hurricane deck, in less than five minutes.

The Buckeye was ascending the river, with upward of three hundred souls on board, white and black; of this number, between sixty and eighty are estimated to have been lost:

The Gallows in Jersey.—The court of pardons, composed of the governor and council, of New Jersey, at its last sitting, refused to pardon Rosean Kean, the colored girl, who was convicted last fall of poisoning her employer, Mr. Elmer, at Bridgeton. She is to be hung on Friday, April 26.

Temperance.—Upwards of seventy members of the House of Representatives at Washington have pledged themselves to total abstinence from intoxicating drinks.

Expensive Windows.—Henry Pettes & Co. Washington street, Boston, have windows to their store, each pane of which occupies an entire sash, and is *eight feet by six.* It was imported from England, at an expense of $300 per light!

The Mormons.—A late letter from Sumpter county, Alabama, to the editor of the Mobile Register, says that the Mormons are making a somewhat formidable demonstration in the adjoining county of Mississippi.

They commenced operations at Pleasant Springs late in the fall, and now number about seventy-five proselytes—some twenty being seceders from the Methodist connexion, and about twenty-six from the Baptist—the balance from non-professors. They have recently commenced propagating their faith at Brooklyn, only a few miles from our State line, where they will probably meet with a like success.

From the Sandwich Islands.—We have from "The Friend," a paper printed at Honolulu, under date of January 1, the following:

Admiral Du Petit Thours arrived at Tabit on the 2d November, with the "Reine Blanche," and "Danne," of 50 guns each, and the "Tranie," of 64 guns. Mons. Bruat, the director in the government of the protectorate, accompanied the admiral. On the 6th, the admiral dethroned the queen, and formally took possession of the Society Islands, for the throne of France—giving, as a reason for so doing, that the queen had refused to haul down her flag, which had been presented to her by Commodore Nicholas, of the English razee Vindictive. Mons. Bruat had changed his functions to that of "Governor of the French possessions in the Pacific." Mr. Pritchard, the English consul, had struck his flag. The admiral had landed about 300 troops, who, with about 100 operatives and artisans were at work erecting fortifications, &c.

Unfortunate Accident.—The brig Emily, Sherwood, which arrived this morning from Charleston, came in contact, on Monday night, off the Hook, during the northwest gale, with the schooner Virginian, Capt. Bedell, from New-York, bound in. The brig was in the act of going in stays, when the fore-topsail sheet parted. She mistayed, put the helm up, and when off before the wind, came in contact with the schooner, striking her between the fore and main chains, cutting her down to the water's edge. All parties succeeded in getting on board the brig with the exception of the following persons, who were passengers: William Fitzgerald, Garrett Vanderburg, and H. Johnson, who are supposed to have been injured by the concussion, or perished during the night, as the vessel was seen this morning, laying about half a mile from the beach, with her masts above water.

Capt. Bedell, officers and crew, render their thanks to Capt. Sherwood, for his kindness and attention while on board the brig.

ABOLITIONISTS, PAY YOUR DEBTS!

The Executive Committee of the American Society have adopted the ONE DOLLAR PLAN, for the special purpose of paying the debt, for which partial provision only was made at the late annual meeting.

The question is now to be answered—*Does the American Anti-Slavery Society number twenty-five hundred members, who are able to pay One Dollar each, for the payment of its debt?* If so, we shall soon be an honest society. If not, we shall soon cease to be a society at all. Our operations cannot be continued, if we cannot go upon the cash system.

Friends of the Society are requested to act as agents in their respective localities, and to collect without delay, as much as they can, and remit to the Treasurer.

PAYMENT RECEIVED.

Amount previously acknowledged,	$421
422 Miss A. Kennedy, Norwich, Ct.	1

TREASURER'S RECEIPTS

For the week ending 3d mo. (March) 16th, 1844.

Received for the Standard—The following persons have each paid $2: Uriah Tuttle, Winchester; A. E. Bradley, Owego, N. Y.; W. M. Griffith, East Bethlehem, Pa.; Mrs. Waldron, Bath, Me.; William Packham, South Kingston, R. I.; Giles Gaylord, Wolcottville, Ct.; E. Persons, Unadilla Forks, N. Y.; Edward B. Lawton, Boston; Edmund Jackson, do.; Calvin Shaw, Abington, Mass.; Charles A. Howland, Scipioville, (omitted.)—Total, $22.

Benjamin S. Bowen, Knoxville, Pa. $1; Samuel B. Holt, Hampton, Ct. $1 13; Edward Congdon, Fishville, R. I. $1; F. W. Gunn, Washington, Ct. $4 50; H. Hine do. $1 50; Thomas Donaldson, New Richmond, Ohio $4; Edward Robbins, Hempstead Harbor, L. I. 50 cts.; I. C. Tuber, New-Bedford, 75 cts.; John Backop, Saxonville, Framingham, Mass. $1—Total, $14 38.

Donations.—Edmund Jackson, Boston, $8.

ISAAC T. HOPPER, *Treasurer.*

NOTICES.

THE WINDHAM COUNTY (CT.) ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

Will hold its annual meeting, in Brooklyn, on Thursday, the 28th day of March. The public, without distinction of party, sect, sex, or color—priests, doctors, lawyers, farmers, mechanics, and all others—are respectfully invited to come up and join us in the conflict against oppression. JAMES B. WHITCOMB, Sec.

THE ELEVENTH MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

This annual effort for the sustentation of the anti-slavery cause, will be made in Amory Hall, Boston, commencing on Tuesday, December 24th, 1844. By its means it is, that the debts of the cause, last year, were discharged; so that it is, at this moment, free to put its unencumbered strength, in the prosecution of THE HUNDRED CONVENTIONS, through the medium of which, this appeal reaches you. If you wish slavery to cease, you cannot more effectually aid in its extinction, than by upholding this Fair. The experience of ten years enables the women of Massachusetts to present it to you as an effectual channel, through which your sympathy may unite with that of others, to swell the flood of effort by which high principle shall be diffused, and right feeling excited, till the horrible institution of slavery shall be swept away.

None of the funds raised by means of this Fair are ever permitted to run to waste in building up a political party, or in defraying electioneering expenses. They are used to promulgate, through the press, and by the living voice, the truths of freedom, which convert men's hearts to the cause. We give a guaranty for the economical and judicious disposal of them, by providing for their expenditure by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Without going back for years, to recapitulate former help, the beneficial consequences of which are in perpetual glow, we will simply state that the proceeds of this last year's Fair were TWENTY-ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS, exclusive of many small appropriations, and the necessary expenses; and that, lacking the prospect of this aid, neither the Hundred Western Conventions, nor the Hundred Conventions now in progress through Massachusetts would have been undertaken. The influence of the cause might be increased ten-fold, by means of that aid from the commonwealth generally, which it is disposed, if the way were open, to afford. A few words of suggestion may open this way. Permit us to make them for the cause's sake.

First. We entreat whomsoever this sheet reaches, instantly to announce an intention of aiding the ELEVENTH MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR, and to form, if possible, a little circle for weekly anti-slavery effort through the year. Gain all the aid possible, but *wait for no one else.* Whoever begins will be the nucleus round which much help will gather at length.

Second. To remember that there is nothing useful or ornamental—no mechanical, agricultural, or manufacturing product—nothing either to eat, drink, or wear—no work of taste or art, for household use or decoration—but will (so perfect have our arrangements at length become) be made as available to the cause as its worth in money.

Third. To correspond with us for the purpose of benefiting us by your suggestions, and receiving the aid of ours. For it may often be in the power of all the friends of the cause, mutually to aid each other by the interchange of materials and labor, and by furnishing the newest patterns of articles of dress, or models of articles of furniture.

There surely needs no searching argument or eloquent appeal to commend the cause of freedom and humanity to professed republicans and Christians. All see and feel that it is a good and noble thing to spring to the relief and rescue of one human being undergoing wrong, or peril, or suff

Poetry.

THE CRY OF THE CHILDREN.

BY ELIZABETH BARRETT.

The following verses were inspired by the facts elicited by investigating the condition of the children employed in the mines, factories, &c. of Great Britain.

Do ye hear the children weeping, O my brothers!
Ere the sorrow comes with years? [thers,
They are leaning their young heads against their mo-
And *that* cannot stop their tears.
The young lambs are bleating in the meadows,
The young birds are chirping in the nest,
The young fawns are playing in the shadows,
The young flowers are blowing from the West;
But the young, young children, O my brothers!
They are weeping bitterly!
They are weeping in the playtime of the others,
In the country of the free.

Do you question the young children in their sorrow,
Why their tears are falling so?
The old man may weep for his to-morrow,
Which is lost in long ago.
The old tree is leafless in the forest
The old year is ending in the frost;
The old wound, if stricken, is the sorest,
The old hope is hardest to be lost!
But the young, young children, O my brothers!
Do you ask them why they stand
Weeping sore before the bosoms of their mothers,
In our happy fatherland!

They look up with their pale and sunken faces,
And their looks are sad to see;
For the Man's grief untimely draws and presses
Down the cheeks of Infancy.
"Your old Earth," they say, "is very dreary;
Our young feet," they say, "are very weak!
Few paces have we taken, yet are weary—
Our grave-rest is very far to seek!
Ask the old why they weep, and not the children,
For the outside earth is cold,
And we young ones stand without, in our bewild'ring,
And the graves are for the old.

"True," say the children, "it may happen
That we may die before our time!
Little Alice died last year,—the grave is shapen
Like a snowball, in the rime.
We looked into the pit prepared to take her,
Was no room for any work in the close clay!
From the sleep wherein she lieth none will wake her,
Crying—"Get up, little Alice, it is day!"
If you listen by that grave in sun and shower,
With your ear down, little Alice never cries;
Could we see her face, be sure we should not know her,
For the new smile which has grown within her eyes.
For merry go her moments, lulled and stilled in
The shroud, by the kirk chime!
"It is good when it happens," say the children,
"That we die before our time!"

Alas, the young children! they are seeking
Death in life, as best to have!
They are binding up their hearts away from breaking,
With a cerement from the grave.
Go out children, from the mine and from the city,
Sing out, children, as the little thrushes do!
Pluck your handfulls of the meadow cowslips pretty,
Laugh aloud to feel your fingers let them through!
But the children say, "Are cowslips of the meadows
Like the weeds anear the mine?
Leave us quiet in the dark of our coal-shadows
From your pleasures fair and fine.

For, oh!" say the children, "we are weary,
And we cannot run or leap:
If we cared for any meadows, it were merely
To drop down in them and sleep.
Our knees tremble sorely in the stooping,
We fall on our face trying to go:
And underneath our heavy eyelids drooping,
The reddest flower would look as pale as snow;
For all day, we drag our burden tiring,
Through the coal-dark underground,
Or, all day, we drive the wheels of iron
In the factories round and round.

All day long the wheels are droning, turning,
Their wind comes in our faces!
Till our hearts turn, and our heads with pulses burning,
And the walls turn in their places!
Turns the sky in the high window blank and reeling,
Turns the long light that droopeth down the wall,
Turn the black flies that crawl along the ceiling,
All are turning all the day, and we with all!
All day long, the iron wheels are droning,
And sometimes we could pray,
"O, ye wheels, (breaking of in a mad moaning,)
Stop! be silent for to-day!"

Ay, be silent! let them hear each other breathing,
For a moment, mouth to mouth;
Let them touch each other's hands, in a fresh wreathing.
Of their tender human youth;
Let them feel that this cold metallic motion,
Is not all the life God giveth them to feel;
Let them prove their inward souls against the notion
That they live in you, or under you, O wheel!
Still, all day, the iron wheels go onward,
As if fate in each were stark!
And the children's souls, which God is calling sunward,
Spin on blindly in the dark.

Now tell the weary children, O my brothers!
That they look to Him and pray,
For the blessed One who blesseth all the others,
To bless them another day.
They answer—"Who is God, that He should hear us,
While this rushing of the iron wheels is stirred?
When we sob aloud, the human creatures near us
Pass unhearing—at least, answer not a word;
And we hear not, (for the wheels in their resounding,)
Strangers speaking at the door.
Is it likely God with angels singing round Him,
Hears our weeping any more?

"Two words, indeed, of praying we remember;
And at midnight's hour of harm,
Our Father! looking upward in our chamber,
We say softly for a charm.*
We say no other words except *Our Father!*
And we think that, in some pause of angel's song,
He may pluck them with the silence sweet to gather,
And hold both in His right hand, which is strong.
Our Father! If He heard us, He would surely
(For they call Him good and mild)
Answer, (smiling down the steep world very purely,)
'Come and rest with me, my child.'"

"But no," say the children, weeping faster,
"He is silent as a stone;
And they tell us of His image is the master
Who commands us to work on.
Go to," say the children; "up in Heaven,
Dark, wheel-like, turning clouds are all we find!
Do not mock us! we are atheists in our grieving,
We look up to Him—but tears have made us blind!"
Do you hear children weeping and disproving,
O my brothers, what ye teach?
For God's possible is taught by His world's loving,
And the children doubt of each!

And well may the children weep before ye,
They are weary ere they run!
They have never seen the sunshine, nor the glory
Which is brighter than the sun!
They know the grief of men, but not the wisdom,
They sink in their despair, with hope at calm,
Are slaves without liberty in Christdom,
Are martyrs by the pang, without the palm!
Are worn as if with age; yet unretrievingly
No joy of memory keep,
Are orphans of the earthly love and heavenly,
Let them weep, let them weep!

They look up, with their pale and sunken faces,
And their look is dread to see;
For you think you see their angels in their places,
With eyes meant for Deity.
"How long," they say, "how long, O cruel nation!
Will you stand, to move the world, on a child's heart?
Trample down with mailed heel its palpitation,
And tread onward to your throne amid the mart?
Our blood splashes upward, O our tyrants!
And your purple shows your path,
But the child's sob curseth deeper in the silence,
Than the strong man in his wrath!"

* The report of the commissioners present repeated instances of children, whose religious devotion is confined to the repetition of the two first words of the Lord's Prayer.

Miscellany.

AN UNEXPECTED FRIEND.

"It must be, my child!" said the poor widow, wiping away the tears which slowly trickled down her wasted cheeks. "There is no other resource. I am too sick to work, and you cannot, surely, see me and your little brother starve. Try and beg a few shillings, and perhaps by the time that is gone, I may be better. Go, Henry, my dear—I grieve to send you on such an errand, but it must be done."

The boy, a noble-looking little fellow of about ten years, started up and throwing his arms around his mother's neck, left the house without a word. He did not hear the groan of anguish that was uttered by his parent as the door closed behind him; and it was well that he did not, for his little heart was ready to burst without it.

It was a by-street, in Philadelphia, and, as he walked to and fro on the side-walk, he looked first at one person, and then at another, as they passed him, but no one seemed to look kindly on him, and the longer he waited, the faster his courage dwindled away, and the more difficult it became to muster resolution to beg. The tears were running fast down his cheeks, but nobody noticed them, or if they did, nobody seemed to care; for although clean, Henry looked poor and miserable, and it is common for the poor and miserable to cry!

Everybody seemed in a hurry, and the poor boy was quite in despair, when at last he espied a gentleman who seemed to be very leisurely taking a morning walk. He was dressed in black, wore a three cornered had, and had a face that was as mild and benignant as an angel's. Somehow, when Henry looked at him, he felt all his fears vanish at once, and instantly approached him. His tears had been flowing so long, that his eyes were quite red, and swollen, and his voice trembled—but that was with weakness, for he had not eaten for twenty-four hours. As Henry, with a low, faltering voice, begged for a little charity, the gentleman stopped, and his kind heart melted with compassion as he looked into the fair countenance of the poor boy, and saw the deep blush which spread over his face, and listened to the modest, humble tones, which accompanied his petition.

"You do not look like a boy that has been accustomed to beg his bread," said he, kindly laying his hand on the boy's shoulder, "what has driven you to this step?"

"Indeed," answered Henry, his tears beginning to flow afresh, "indeed, I was not born in this condition. But the misfortunes of my father, and the sickness of my mother, have driven me to the necessity now."

"Who is your father?" inquired the gentleman, still more interested.

"My father was a rich merchant of this city; but he became bondsman for a friend, who soon after failed, and he was entirely ruined. He could not live long after this loss, and in one month he died of grief, and his death was more dreadful than any of our trouble. My mother, my little brother, and myself, soon sunk into the lowest depths of poverty. My mother has, until now, managed to support herself, and my little brother, by her labor, and I have earned what I could by shovelling snow, and other work that I could find to do. But, night before last, mother was taken very sick, and she has since become so much worse that"—here the tears flowed faster than ever—"that, I do fear, she will die. I cannot think of any way in the world to help her. I have not had any work for several weeks. I have not had the courage to go to any of my mother's old acquaintances, and tell them that she has come to need charity. I thought you looked like a stranger, sir, and something in your face overcame my shame, and gave me courage to speak to you. O, sir, do pity my poor mother?"

The tears, and the simple and moving language of the poor boy, touched a chord in the breast of the stranger that was accustomed to frequent vibrations.

"Where does your mother live, my boy?" said he, in a husky voice, "is it far from here?"

"She lives in the last house on this street, sir," replied Henry. "You can see it from here, in the third block, and on the left hand side?"

"Have you sent for a physician?"

"No, sir," said the boy, sorrowfully, shaking his head. "I had no money, to pay either for a physician or for medicine."

"Here," said the stranger, drawing some pieces of silver from his pocket, "here are three dollars, take them and run immediately for a physician."

Henry's eyes flashed with gratitude—he received the money with a stammering and almost inaudible voice, but with a look of the warmest gratitude, he vanished.

The benevolent stranger instantly sought the dwelling of the sick widow. He entered a little room in which he could see nothing but a few implements of female labor—a miserable table, an old bureau, and a little bed which stood in one corner, on which the invalid lay. She appeared weak, and almost exhausted—and on the bed, at her feet, sat a little boy crying as if his heart would break.

Deeply moved at this sight, the stranger drew near the bedside of the invalid, and feigning to be a physician, inquired into the nature of her disease. The symptoms were explained in a few words, when the widow, with a deep sigh, added, "O, my sickness has a deeper cause, and one which is beyond the art of the physician to cure. I am a mother—a wretched mother. I see my children sinking daily deeper and deeper in want, which I have no means of relieving. My sickness is of the heart, and death alone can end my sorrows; but even death is dreadful to me, for it awakens the thought of the misery into which my children would be plunged, if——." Here emotion checked her utterance, and the tears flowed unrestrained down her cheeks. But the pretended physician spoke so consolingly to her, and manifested so warm a sympathy for her condition, that the heart of the poor woman throbbed with a pleasure that was unwonted.

"Do not despair," said the stranger, "think only of recovery, and of preserving a life that is so precious to your children. Can I write a prescription here?"

The poor widow took a little prayer-book from the hands of a child who sat with her on the bed, and tearing out a blank leaf, "I have no other," said she, "but perhaps this will do."

The stranger took a pencil from his pocket, and wrote a few lines upon the paper.

"This prescription," said he, you will find of great service to you. If it is necessary I will write you a second. I have great hopes of your recovery."

He laid the paper on the table and departed. Scarcely was he gone, when the elder son returned.

"Cheer up, dear mother," said he, going to her bedside, and affectionately kissing her. "See what a kind, benevolent stranger has given us. It will make us rich for several days. It has enabled us to have a physician, and he will be here in a moment. Compose yourself, now, dear mother, and take courage."

"Come nearer, my son," answered the mother, looking with pride and affection on her child. "Come nearer, that I may bless you. God never forsakes the innocent and the good. O may he watch over you in all your paths! A physician has just been here. He was a stranger, but he spoke to me with a compassion, and kindness that were a balm in my heart. When he went away, he left that prescription on the table, see if you can read it."

Henry glanced at the paper, and started back—he took it up, and as he read it through, again and again, a cry of wonder and astonishment escaped him.

"What is it, my son?" exclaimed the poor widow, trembling with an apprehension of she knew not what.

"Ah, read, dear mother! God has heard us."

The mother took the paper from the hands of her son, but no sooner had she fixed her eyes upon it than, "my God!" she exclaimed, "it is Washington," and fell back fainting upon her pillow.

The writing was an obligation from Washington—for it was indeed he, by which the widow was to receive the sum of one hundred dollars, from his own private property, to be doubled in case of necessity.

Meanwhile, the expected physician made his appearance, and soon awoke the mother from her fainting fit. The joyful surprise, together with a good nurse, with which the physician provided her, and a plenty of wholesome food, soon restored her to perfect health.

The influence of Washington, who visited them more than once, provided for the widow, friends who furnished her with constant employment, and her sons, when they arrived at the proper age, were placed in respectable situations, where they were able to support themselves, and render the remainder of their mother's life comfortable and happy.

Let the children who read this story, remember, when they think of the great, and good Washington, that he was not above entering the dwelling of poverty, and carrying joy and gladness to the hearts of its inmates. This is no fictitious tale, but is only one of the thousand incidents which might be related of him, and which stamp him one of the best of men.

Correspondence of the Providence Journal.

VISIT TO A CHINESE CITY.

The following account of a visit to a Chinese city, is taken from a letter by a lady:

We visited Ningpo a short time since, in company with Captain and Mrs. B.; the latter and myself, being the first foreign women who were ever there, with the exception of Mrs. Noble, who was taken prisoner during the war, and was seen but by very few. We started for Ningpo on Saturday morning, expecting to arrive the same evening, but did not reach there until the next morning, suffering sundry inconveniences in the interim, having to pass the night in the China fast-boats, with accommodations the most narrow and limited. A cabin was formed by spreading bamboo mats over the deck, and it was not, I assure you, of the most lofty and commodious kind; for we could not stand upright in the highest part. We furnished our own provisions, beds, dishes, &c. &c.; spread our beds upon the floor, and slept, if we could, and as we could, though I have found, before now, a softer and more downy resting-place.

We arrived early on Sunday morning, and behold a mighty crowd had gathered to see us when we landed. So eager was the curiosity, that many waded off some distance, the sooner to get a peep at us. We had with us a Chinese and English police officer. Captain B. sent his card to one of the mandarins, who despatched his servant immediately, to show us the way to the house that had been provided for us. We were placed in sedan chairs, which were carried by two men, called coolies, and it was really with difficulty they could get through the streets, which are narrow, and now they were completely thronged. My chair, instead of Captain B.'s, was, by mistake, taken first, and, of course, curiosity was most directed toward me, and I really feared for the safety of the chair, if not for my own, so great was the desire to see a foreign woman. They were by no means rude, however, for they are a civil people. But it required stronger nerves than mine, to face unmoved such a multitude, with every countenance directed toward me, and written all over with the most intense and anxious curiosity.

Our first day at Ningpo we spent within doors, it being Sunday, but we received a call and an invitation to dine the next day, from one of the mandarins. The house we occupied was thoroughly Chinese, with all its belongings.

Monday morning came, and quite early two sedan chairs were sent to take us to see the wonders of the place, and it may be, that we might be seen. The chairs differed from those we were carried in the day before, being much more elegant, and furnished with glass windows before, behind, and on each side, which enabled them the better to see us who had suddenly become literally, and in very truth, the "observed of all observers." We had been greatly annoyed before by the people's constantly lifting the curtain which hung in front of the chair, and we found it more pleasant to meet the gaze of the people fully and fairly, than to be playing bo-peep with them all the time.

We commenced our day's amusement by first making a call, and then we went to some public place, where we received calls from a number of mandarins, and were quite diverted with their "chin chins," (the Chinese for "how do you do?") which is their mode of salutation, folding their hands at the time, and bowing their heads. We were then served with tea in the neatest little cups imaginable, and tables were brought in, and spread with a great variety of sweet things, fruit, and the like.

From here we went to the mandarin's to dine; and really the dinner was a curiosity in itself. The first course was of sweet things, the second meats, and more substantial viands. Our dinner over, we bade our host adieu, and made another call, where they furnished us another dinner, similar to the first; and at another place where we called, they spread tables, and gave, us luncheons; fortunately, our lunches came after dinner, instead of before. We made five meals in a few hours, and you may judge if we were not in some danger of surfeiting. As for myself, I suffered an intense headache, as a penalty for eating too much of good things. During all this time we had been introduced to a great many people, and the streets, as we made our way through them, were crowded to even greater excess than before. I assure you the excitement was almost too much for me, and I returned to our abode that evening, quite exhausted.

The next morning, after receiving calls by the score, we visited a pagoda, mounted fourteen flights of stairs, and stood where the foot of white woman had never before trod. We had a fine view from the top, and below were crowds of people, who had followed us hither, and were waiting to see us pass out. Men, women, and children, were there, to the amount of some thousands; and as we came out to go to our chairs, which were standing a little way off, they parted to the right and left, for us to pass through, the women holding up their children, that they might catch a glimpse of the wonderful strangers. We went from here to a place of worship, called a "Josh house;" beautiful, indeed, it was, and their huge gods, of wood and stone, though they may seem very majestic and imposing to them, awakened in me no feeling but sadness and pity for the deluded wretches who trust in them. There was a great deal of beautiful carved work and gilding about the building, and it was adorned with beautiful lanterns of painted glass in endless number and variety.

From here we went to the house of another mandarin, who has a beautiful garden adorned with caves, grottoes, pools of water, and a great variety of gorgeous and beautiful flowers. We strolled about here a little while, enjoying its beauty and its freshness, and called upon yet another mandarin, where a more pleasing sight awaited us than any that had been before presented. We saw, and were introduced to the wife and daughter of the mandarin; also, several of their children of various sizes. The ladies were very finely dressed, and the young lady was quite a modest, pretty-looking girl. Her hair was ornamented with flowers, and her arms with bracelets, two on each.

After dinner they took us into another room, where they examined our dresses with great curiosity and delight. We have been favored beyond any foreigners who have ever been here before; none, I apprehend, having been so honored as to sit at table with ladies of the celestial empire. We are indebted, probably, for much of the attention we received to the fact of Captain B's. holding the office of civil magistrate, in addition to his rank as captain in the army of her majesty, and being, in consequence, acquainted with many of the people, whom he had received at his house.

When we left here we made another call, where we were treated to another lunch, and, to my great horror and dismay, to another dinner. I was sick and disgusted at the very sight of food. We were helped in the most lavish manner. Not content with heaping our plates, which, by the way, were quite small, and more like saucers than plates, they actually piled up the good things all about us. They by no means confine themselves to the use of the chop sticks, but seem quite to prefer their fingers in helping either themselves or others.

It seemed to trouble our good friends that we ate so little, and it seemed to me the less we ate, the more bountifully they helped us. One of the young mandarins, especially, seemed quite concerned on my account. He had been extremely gracious and polite to me all the while—good looking he was, too, his eyes black and most brilliant, and his whole face agreeable and pleasant. In his anxiety lest I should depart with my appetite unsatisfied, he took rice from his own plate, and put it upon mine, motioning me to eat; and this is deemed an act of extreme politeness by the Chinese. Of course I could do no less than eat it, which seemed to gratify him exceedingly. I looked as amiable as I possibly could, half surfeited as I was, and conversing by signs, we become quite well acquainted before the dinner was over.

After dinner we attempted to visit some of the shops, but could do so in no kind of comfort, for the crowd still pursued, to get a glimpse of us as we alighted from the chairs. Indeed the shop-keepers themselves, were more interested in looking at us than they were in selling their goods. So we yielded to "dire necessity," and made the best way we could back to our quarters, glad enough to reach there, and to be at rest. We were, a few hours after, on board the same boat which conveyed us thither, and which was waiting to take us back to Chusan. Wearied enough we were, I assure you, with the excitement of the last three days. I must say, that as far as my own experience goes, it is by no means a pleasant thing to be an object of wonder and curiosity to a gaping multitude.

From the Practical Christian.

PRACTICAL NON-RESISTANCE.

We were lately told the following anecdote: Some years ago, a swaggering sailor was making his way along one of the streets of New-York, in a mood of merry mischief, when he chanced to meet an elderly colored woman on the sidewalk, who was very sedately smoking her pipe. Our tar, none too sober, thought he would give the old woman a touch of his politeness. So he turned aside, gave her a hunch, and knocked her pipe out of her mouth. He waited with evident amusement to see the poor woman gather up the pieces. But what was his astonishment to hear her meekly say—"God forgive you, my son, as I do!" His generous heart was instantly smitten with mingled emotions of shame and admonition. He rushed towards her, exclaiming—"God bless you, good mother! I am *sorry!* Here, take my arm; let me walk with you. I would not be ashamed to walk with you through the whole city!" Then recollecting that this token of respect would be useless to her, he suddenly drew out of his pockets an extravagant handful of "change," which he compelled her to receive, and walked on with a repeated "God bless you, good mother!" Thus this despised negress, with a heart full of benevolence and self-control, overcame evil with good. With a meek look, and a single forgiving sentence, she subdued the spirit of mischievous insolence, touched the finer chords of a weather-beaten soul, secured a willing repentance, and drew forth an artless reponse of benevolence.

From the Portsmouth Journal.

PRISON SKETCH.

On entering the office of a prison one morning, I found there, with the warden, a young man whose term of confinement had just expired. He had been in prison five years. The warden fitted him with a tolerably decent suit of clothes, partly from the man's former habiliments, partly from the prison supply, gave him about a dollar in change, and then opened the door for him to depart.

While the man was waiting for a hat to suit him, I watched his appearance. I could see no sign of deep emotion. He appeared grave, and thoughtful; but were it not for the convulsive twitching of his lips, you would have supposed him to be unmoved.

I asked the warden whether he thought the man would reform. He replied, "He goes out with a determination to behave well, but so do nearly all I discharge; and it is very doubtful whether he keeps his present intentions. I have been warden for fifteen years, and have discharged many hundreds: I never knew more than a dozen in all, who gained a decent standing, and became respectable men. Some return to this prison, some go to others; but the greater part of them are never heard from."

A poor chance, indeed, for our discharged convict! Let us follow him with the mind's eye, that we may discover what are the strong temptations that may again lead him astray.

He walks off rapidly, rather running than walking, with only one object—to get out of sight of the prison. He has a buoyant, elastic feeling. To be out once more in God's free air, had been his hope by day, his dream by night, for five long years. This hope is now accomplished; he is a free man; his own master; he can go where he will.

Gradually his pace slackens; it becomes slower, and more slow; at length he stops. He leans against a fence, and tears burst out from his eyes, and roll down his cheeks; for the thought comes over him, "Where shall I go? Who will be glad to see me?"

After a while, he slowly resumes his steps, and at length comes to where two roads meet—one leading into the city, the other towards the country. O that some guardian angel would direct him into the country road, for that is his only chance for safety! But no! He passes on, and is walking towards the city.

Slowly and thoughtfully he passes on; his head is bowed down, and partly from a feeling of degradation, partly from the long-established prison habit, he hardly lifts his eyes to those he meets. That neat cottage on the right, he passes with a sigh—it is no home for him. That large farm-house beyond—cannot that afford him employment and shelter? No; who will employ a discharged convict? And so he goes on, and the houses thicken on each side, but he has no claim on any; and the shops and stores of the city begin to appear, but he has no business with any of them; and the feeling of loneliness, of desolation, presses more and more upon his heart. He pauses, for a merry troop of schoolboys rush by him, the very embodiment of hope and happiness. "Ah! why was not I, when a boy, sent to school with the happy and prosperous?" and the remembrance of his neglected childhood, of his poverty-struck, desolate home, of his early misspent days, comes over him, and he again weeps.

Tired with his wanderings, dizzy with excitement and want of food, at the close of the day he goes into a low tavern. He must rest somewhere; and this, he thinks, is the only place he will be welcome in. It is full of tobacco smoke, and the steam of alcohol, and is the resort of the vicious and the degraded.

Here he meets with an old comrade, and for the first time for years the words of kindness fall upon his ear; for the first time does his hand feel the warm pressure of a friend.

"Why so low, and pining?" asks his companion; "I should think you'd be merry for once, to get out of that accursed place. Come, come, you must drink with me."

He left the prison determined to be a sober man. He might not have yielded to other temptation, but this appeal to his friendly feelings, how can he resist? He longs for kindness and sympathy, and these he receives only from the degraded. The evening of the day which gave him freedom, finds him the associate of drunkards and criminals.

This description is imaginary, but in its essential elements it is *truth*.

INSTINCT OF SPIDERS.

Quatremer Disjonval, a Frenchman by birth, was adjutant-general in Holland, and took an active part on the side of the Dutch patriots, when they revolted against the Stadtholder. He fell into the hands of the Prussians, and was condemned to twenty-five years' imprisonment. Spiders, often the sole companions of prisoners, were the only solace of his confinement; and he noticed, year after year, their minutest movements. He perceived that their *dis*-appearance was always followed by colder weather, and their *re*-appearance by a milder change. The certainty of this, he established by long observation, as is verified by the following anecdote:

"When the troops of the French republic overran Holland, in the winter of 1794, and kept pushing forward over the ice, a sudden and unexpected thaw in the early part of the month of December, threatened the destruction of the whole army, unless it was instantly withdrawn. The French generals were thinking seriously of accepting a sum offered by the Dutch, and withdrawing their troops, when Disjonval, who hoped that the success of the republican army might lead to his release, used every exertion, and at length succeeded in getting a letter conveyed to the French general in January, 1795, in which he pledged himself, from the peculiar action of the spiders, of whose movements he was now enabled to judge with perfect accuracy, that within fourteen days there would commence a most severe frost, which would make the French masters of all the rivers, and afford them sufficient time to complete, and make sure of the conquest they had commenced, before it should be followed by a thaw.

The commander of the French forces believed his prognostication, and persevered. The cold weather, which Disjonval had announced, made its appearance in twelve days, and with such intensity, that the ice over the rivers and canals became capable of bearing the heaviest artillery. On the 28th of January, 1795, the French army entered Utrecht, in triumph; and Quatremer Disjonval, who had watched the habits of his spiders with so much intelligence and success, was, as a reward for his ingenuity, released from prison."

FAITHFUL CORONERS.

At Hubbardston, Mass. an inquest was recently held over the body of Joseph Waite, a poor drunkard, who was found dead by the roadside. The coroner and jury had the boldness to declare—

"That the said Joseph Waite, jr. came to his death on the morning of the nineteenth day of December, current, about five o'clock, A. M. at Hubbardston, aforesaid, by intoxication, occasioned by spirituous liquors drank by him, at the house of Geo. W. Reed, in said Hubbardston, and by spirituous liquors drank by him, with Whiting M'Clanathan, at the house of Solomon Wilson, in Princeton, in said county, on the afternoon and evening of the eighteenth day of December, current."

This was noble; to come out with the names of the rumsellers who sold the rum. These gentlemen, it is said, had threatened to flog any person who should put their names and doings into a newspaper. But the coroner and jury have dared to do it; and one hundred and fifty papers, containing the report, are ordered for distribution in Hubbardston, and every family may read them. This is doing up the business in style. Rumsellers have bullied the community long enough. It is time they were shown up.

NATURAL FOUNTAIN OF HYDROGEN GAS AT FORT GRATIOT.

Dr. Smith, of the Medical and Surgical Journal, is indebted to Lieut. Marcy, of the United States army, for the following account of a natural curiosity in the western country:

I have just returned from a visit to a place a short distance from here, where a discovery has recently been made, which appears to me to be very curious. A farmer about six miles from here, was boring for water, and had penetrated the earth one hundred and fifteen feet, when, upon drawing out his auger he heard a deep gurgling noise at the bottom of the hole he had made, and immediately a column of gas burst from it with the most terrific violence, rising to the height of seventy feet, carrying with it stones and pieces of clay the size of a pigeon's egg, and attended with a noise very similar to that of letting of steam from a large steamboat. This continued, with unabated violence, for thirty-six hours, when it moderated a little, and a pipe was inserted in the hole with a stop-cock. The proprietor has attached to this, smaller pipes, which convey the gas into his house, and light it in the most brilliant manner imaginable. It appears to be hydrogen gas, almost pure; it burns with a lambent blue flame, without odor, extinguishes flame when immersed in it, and possesses the properties of hydrogen, according to all the tests that it was in my power to apply at the time.

INCIDENTS IN THE BURNING OF THE MISSOURI.

We have heard of two animal occurrences on board this steamer, that strike us as singular, and at the same time characteristic. There was on board a pet bear, which, as the flames were raging, became more and more excited, until, as they burst forth on the decks, the infuriated animal leaped into their midst, and perished. There was on board a Newfoundland bitch, with her pup. While the men remained at quarters, she too remained, going in and out among them as usual, and calmly as usual—but when the last man had left the fated ship, she went to her kennel, took the pup in her mouth, running out on the bowsprit, sprang into the water, and swam ashore without dropping her precious burden.

LUDICROUS SCENE.

An amusing occurrence transpired during service in the Catholic church, at Cabotville, on Sunday. Several marriages and a baptism were performed by the officiating priest, with due form and solemnity; but the individual who stood as god-father to the child, in the latter ceremony not fully understanding his duty, it is presumed, when called upon to give the baptismal name, responded "John," supposing that he had been asked his own name. The ceremony went on, and the infant was duly christened John, when to the astonishment of all, the mother informed the priest that it was a girl! This so excited the holy ire of "father Brady," that he fell to upon the poor god-father, and gave him a sound thrashing on the spot, and would accept no explanation or apology for such an apparent outrage upon the dignity of his office.—*Springfield (Massachusetts) Gazette.*

FOR HOUSEKEEPERS AND FARMERS.

Guano.—This manure, supposed to be bird's dung, is obtained from the western coast of South America, and the Pacific islands, where it exists in enormous quantities, the accumulation of centuries. In some places, it lies from eighty to one hundred feet in depth; feathers and egg-shells are frequently found deeply buried in it. No less than forty thousand tons have been shipped to England, during the last fifteen months, as a manure.. It was used for this purpose by the Indians, long before the conquest; and without it, the valley of Peru would be almost desolate. It is said to possess, in a highly and almost incredibly concentrated form, all the properties of the very best and richest manure. It is pungent in the extreme, and if used in large quantities, burns and destroys vegetation, while in smaller proportions it vivifies and gives extraordinary rapidity to growth.

Attention has lately been drawn to the fact, that vast deposits of this substance are on the northern and western coasts of Scotland, and the adjacent islands. A Scottish cultivator having procured some last year from an island near Inch-Colm, says:

"The season was past to try it on vegetables; and not being a farmer, I used it in top-dressing a flower garden, where it had an astonishing effect. The feeding fibres of the plants came to the surface, and laid hold of the small pieces as greedily as a hawk would his prey; it was interesting to observe the feeders of the dahlias coming to the surface, a hundred at a time, as small as threads, attached to a small piece not bigger than a walnut. I had a delightful show of them, but will not have the pith of the guano until next summer."

It looks like dirty lime. Its principal element is lime; and whoever has seen much of pigeon-houses, and large hen-roosts, knows pretty correctly, we suppose, what is its general appearance.

Rearing Apple Trees.—A gentleman in Bohemia has established a beautiful plantation of the best sort of apple trees, which have neither sprung from the seeds, nor from grafting. His plan is, to take shoots from the choicest sorts, insert each of them into a potato, and plunge both into the ground, leaving out an inch or two of the shoots whilst it pushes out roots, and the shoot gradually springs up and becomes a beautiful tree, bearing the best of fruit, without requiring to be grafted.

Air.—Few people are aware of the importance to health of ventilating sleeping apartments. It is stated that some years ago, not less than 2,944 infants, out of 7,650, died in the Dublin lying-in hospital, in the space of four years, within a fortnight after their birth. It was at last suspected that this great mortality was owing to a want of fresh air; and accordingly, a complete system of ventilation was adopted. The result was, the proportion of deaths was reduced to 279!

Grape Vines.—We hope every farmer, and every mechanic, who owns as much as six square feet of land, will have at least one grape vine growing on it—a native vine, we mean, not a foreign one, for mere show, but one that will bear fruit which will ripen without artificial aid.

It is surprising that so few of our young men take any interest in setting grape vines about the house. It is not because they relish not the fruit, for you will see them traversing the meadows and woods to filch what does not belong to them; and to make sure of their prey, they will pluck it before it is fit to eat. How much less labor would it be, to take home a root, or a cutting, and place it where the grapes might hang on till they were fully ripe!

We have many native grapes in our meadows and by the woodside, which are at least equal to the imported kinds. In addition to the common purple grape, many sorts of which are rich and excellent, when they are permitted to ripen on the vines, we have several kinds of reddish grapes, that have not the foxy taste, which some dislike in the purple kinds. Then we have a variety of wild white grapes.

In our own garden we have two kinds of white, or rather cream-colored grapes, from vines that we procured from our own fields. These ripen in the last of August, a month sooner than the Isabella grape. And these, together with the Isabella, and the common purple grape, give us an abundance of grape fruit during five or six weeks of every season.

The grape is cultivated with less labor than any other kind of fruit, and it is a constant bearer. It is less subject to depredations of worms and insects than most kinds of fruit, and there is less trouble in having it in one's own garden, than in going a mile to borrow a supply from a neighbor's meadow.

Young men are informed that grapes can be propagated from *cuttings*; that is, by burying a vine cut from a growing one. The latter part of April is a good time to bury the vine. One end of it must remain above ground, and the other must be kept moist.—*Ploughman.*

TEACHER WANTED.

AT Trenton, N. J. on the 1st of April, a colored school teacher, well qualified to teach Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Grammar, Geography, Rhetoric, Mensuration, and Book-keeping. None but a well-qualified person need apply. The teacher must not be engaged in any other business, but able to devote his whole time and attention to the school.

The school consists of thirty or forty scholars, at two dollars per quarter each; and the State appropriates from $100 to $160; making about $250 salary.

JOHN ANNOLL,
(51 Warren street, near Trenton Bank.)
ROBERT THOMAS,
CHARLES JAMES,
ISAAC WELSH.

February 29, 1844.

TEXAN REVOLUTION.

Republished (with additions) at Washington, D. C., from the Northampton (Mass.) Gazette.

To which is added,—

A LETTER FROM WASHINGTON, ON THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS, AND THE LATE OUTRAGE IN CALIFORNIA—REPUBLISHED, WITH ADDITIONS, FROM THE LIBERATOR. By Probus.

This is a pamphlet of about 100 large octavo pages. Only a small part consists of the republications; the additions being ten or twelve times larger than the originals. The subjects discussed, are:—

I. The history and merits of the Texan Revolution, under the following heads:

1. The perfidy of the President, and the lawless proceedings of citizens of the United States, who went to Texas "to sow a rebellion."

2. Kindness, hospitality, and generosity of the Mexicans; ingratitude and treachery of the revolutionists.

3. Pretexts of the Revolution. Under this head is a very full account of the political changes which have taken place in Mexico, and of their causes;—the working of the Federative or Federal form of Government, as compared with the Consolidated or Central, in the South American States; a comparative history of *Nullification* in Mexico and the United States; the difference between the South American Federal and Central systems substantially that between our present form of government, and the form proposed by ALEXANDER HAMILTON; the political history of the South American States, and the history and prospects of nullification in the United States, some test of the comparative value of the two systems.

4. Real Causes of the Texan Revolution.

II. The subject of the second Part, or Letter, is the design of annexing Texas to this Union, *at the first session of the next Congress.* The subdivisions of this subject are:—

1. Review of a letter (said to have been, originally, private,) of ex-Governor Gilmer, of Virginia, on the necessity of the speedy annexation of Texas.

2. The principles, speeches, reports, official correspondence, and operations of the leading and confidential friends of John Tyler, in the Cabinet, and in Congress; the alliance between them and the leading members of the democratic party for the extension and perpetuation of slavery and the slave trade, by the acquisition of Texas and California; the outrage committed by Commodore Jones in the latter province, a part, and in execution, of the secret schemes of the cabinet, and a natural result of their spirit and purposes; the ostensible reasons for that outrage examined.

3. The determination and tendency of their policy to bring about a war between the United States of the one part, and Mexico and Great Britain of the other; it being perfectly understood that the former cannot be despoiled of territory fifteen times as large as the State of New-York, and eighty times as large as Massachusetts, without war with Great Britain, as well as with her

4. The Oregon Bill, a part of the said schemes.

5. The questions of *Visitation* and *Search*, on the coast of Africa, for the arrest of slave trading pirates; the actual extent of the slave trade, and its exclusive prosecution under the American flag; the Quintuple and Ashburton Treaties, Gen. Cass's pamphlet and correspondence in France.

6. Negotiations of our government with Mexico for the cession of Texas and California, from the accession of Gen. Jackson to the present time; Character and proceedings of Messrs. Poinsett and Butler, ministers of the United States, in Mexico; suppression, and probable destruction of official documents; *corruption* brought to light; correspondence of Messrs. Webster and Thompson, with Messrs. de Bocanegra and Almonte; *mistranslations*, in our Department of State, and in our Legation at Mexico, of Mexican official documents.

APPENDIX.

1. John Quincy Adams's opinion of the conduct of our government towards Mexico, extracted from his address to his constituents, September 12, 1842.

2. Collection of Proclamations of neutrality, issued by Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Van Buren, and Tyler.

☞ For Sale at this Office.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

Upright men shall be astonished at this, and the innocent shall stir up himself against the hypocrite.—*Job. xvii. 8.*

Abhor detraction, the sin of fallen angels, and the worst of fallen men.—*Wm. Penn.*

NARRATIVE of the Proceedings of the Monthly Meeting of New-York, and their Subsequent Confirmation by the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, in the case of Isaac T. Hopper. Just published, and for sale at this office, No. 143 Nassau street, New-York; and at the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 31 North Fifth street, Philadelphia.

FREE CALICOES!

JUST received, 1 case fine calicoes. Also, 2 cases fine shirting muslins; together with a large assortment of other free dry goods, at reduced prices, wholesale and retail.

CHARLES WISE,
Northwest corner Arch and Fifth streets.
Philadelphia, 8th, mo. 17th 1843. tf.

TEXAS AND MEXICO.

JUST published, and for sale at 143 Nassau street, fourth part of "The Legion of Liberty!" being a remonstrance of some of the Free Men, States, and Presses, to the Texan Rebellion, against the laws of Nature and of Nations. Price 6 cts. single; 50 cts. per dozen.

PHILADEL